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George Bancroft







THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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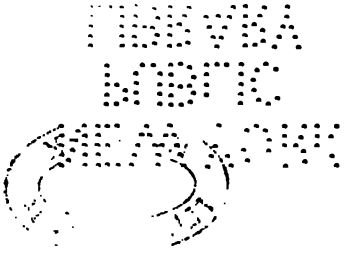
BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF SARUM.

VOL. III. PART II.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
MDCCCXXIX.



TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THIS work, which is designed to finish the History of our Reformation, seems reserved to be laid at your MAJESTY's feet; who, we trust, is designed by God to complete the reformation itself.

To rectify what may be yet amiss, and to supply what is defective among us; to oblige us to live and to labour more suitably to our profession; to unite us more firmly among ourselves; to bury, and for ever to extinguish, the fears of our relapsing again into popery; and to establish a confidence and correspondence with the protestant and reformed churches abroad.

The eminent moderation of the most serene house from which your MAJESTY is descended, gives us auspicious hopes, that as God has now raised your MAJESTY, with signal characters of an amazing providence, to be the head and the chief strength of the reformation; so your MAJESTY will, by a wise and noble conduct, form all these churches into one body; so that though they cannot agree to the same opinions and rituals with us in all points, yet they

may join in one happy confederacy, for the support of the whole, and of every particular branch of that sacred union.

May this be the peculiar glory of your MAJESTY'S reign; and may all the blessings of heaven and earth rest upon your most august person, and upon all your royal posterity.

This is the daily prayer of him, who is with the profoundest respect,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY'S

most loyal, most obedient, and most devoted subject and servant,

GI. SARUM.

THE

PREFACE.

I HAD in my Introduction to this volume, which I published a year ago, said all that then occurred to me in the way of preface: but some particulars coming to my knowledge since that time, give me an occasion to add a little to what was then copiously deduced.

I begin with Mr. Le Grand, who I understand is now in a considerable post in the court of France. He, being lately at Geneva, explained himself to my friends in these terms; "that he was young when he wrote against me, and "that the heat of youth had carried him to some expres-"sions, from which he would abstain, if he were to write "now: he was glad to hear that I was upon the reviewing "the History of the Reformation;" and named to them a Life that he had seen in Spain of Bartholomew Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, who was king Philip's confessor, and went with him to England; and was particularly employed in reforming (as they called it) the universities: and, as he said, he died when he was to be delivered out of the prison of the inquisition. He added, that he had also seen a collection of cardinal Pole's letters, with an account of what passed in England after the death of king Edward, which he believed I had not seen, and that could inform me of many particulars; but that he himself had other employments than to think of the affairs of England. If I had received this civil message from Mr. Le Grand before I had published my Introduction, I would have said nothing at all with relation to him; but what is past cannot be recalled: so I hope he will accept of this for all the reparation I can now make him.

As for Anthony Harmer, some have doubted if he could

be capable of making three capital errors in one line: and since Mr. Strype has suggested to me that, in which I was under some reserve before, as having it from another hand, I am now free to set it down. For *capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis*, he has printed, *epistolam conventus ecclesiæ catholicæ*. If the abbreviations may seem to excuse the reading *epistolam* for *capitulum*, and *catholicæ* for *cathedralis*, nothing can excuse the adding the word *conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a complete title, having read the others as he did: so I hope I have reason to have no regard to any thing that comes from him upon his bare authority. The weak and ill-natured attempts that some among ourselves have of late made upon me, give me no sort of concern, unless it is to pray for those who have despitefully used me.

There was also a great poem lately prepared, and, I suppose, designed to be published, when that which our enemies hoped was near accomplished should have been effected. It was written in imitation of Hudibras, and so was a mock poem on the reformation, composed by one Thomas Ward, of whom I can give no other account, but that it is said he is a priest. In it, Sanders's work was made the plot of the fable: it was full of impious abuse, put in a strain apt enough to take with those who were disposed to divert themselves with a show of wit and humour, dressed up to make the reformation appear both odious and ridiculous; not doubting of equal success with Butler's admired performance. It was no wonder, if, upon such a design, my History was treated with all the characters of scorn and contempt. This was what I might justly expect from those of that side: but I was sorry to find so much censure from those from whom I had no reason to expect it, and which seemed to be the effect only of envy and ill-nature: God forgive them for it.

I must say a little more, with relation to a learned and copious writer of our ecclesiastical history, who finds my History often in his way: he treats me decently as to his expressions, but designs all through to set such remarks on

my work, as, if they were well grounded, must destroy the credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will first give some instances to shew what the spirit, the principles, and the design of that writer must be: I will name but four out of a great many.

When he sets forth king Henry the Eighth's proceedings against the memory of Thomas Becket, he has these words; P. 150. Vol. II. Col. I. "And though his conduct in this dispute was not altogether defensible, he was far, however, from being guilty of that gross mismanagement with which he is charged." I will leave the judgment that must be passed upon this period to all who are in any sort acquainted with the history of that time.

When he gives the character of king Edward the Sixth, immediately before he tells of his death, it is in these words: P. 332. Col. II. "His conscience was not always under a serviceable direction;" (the meaning of this dark expression I do not reach;) "he was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under "wrong prepossessions as to church government; he seems "to have had no notion of sacrilege;——and, which is "somewhat remarkable, most of the hardships were put upon "ecclesiastics in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition:" and without adding one word of his good qualities, or to correct those severe reflections, he concludes with the account of his death.

He gives a very different account of the death of Mary queen of Scots, in these words; "Her fortitude and devotion were very remarkable: she supported her character "with all imaginable decency: she died like a Christian, and "like a queen." P. 601. Col. II.

And, to mention no more, when he comes to queen Elizabeth's death and character, he runs a parallel between the two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in these words; "The one "made martyrs, the other made beggars: the one executed "the men, and the other the estates: and therefore, reserving the honour of the reformation to queen Elizabeth, the "question will be, Whether the resuming the first-fruits "and tenths, putting many vicarages in a deplorable condi- P. 671. Col. II.

" tion, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the church, " was not much more prejudicial than fire and fagot? Whe- " ther destroying bishoprics was not a much greater hard- " ship than the destroying bishops? because this severity " affects succession, and reaches down to future ages. And " lastly, Whether, as the world goes, it is not more easy to " recruit bishops, than the revenues to support them?" These words give such an indication of the notion that the author has of the happiness or misery of a church, that they want no commentary.

Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 297.

I will add this one remark of a fact upon a passage that I had writ concerning the book of Ordination, published in the third year of king Edward, which was in these words: " Another difference between the ordination-book set out at " that time, and that we now use, was, that the bishop was " to lay his one hand on the priest's head, and with his other " to give him a Bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying " the words that are now said at the delivery of the Bible. " In the consecration of a bishop, there is nothing more " than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his " hand with this blessing, *Be to the flock of Christ a shep-* P. 290. Col. II. " *herd.*" Upon this his remark is in these words: " But " here, as it happens, this learned person has been led into a " mistake; for the two first editions of the Ordinal made in " king Edward's reign have none of the different rites men- " tioned by this gentleman." I was indeed surprised when I read this, and went to look into the first edition of that Ordinal, which I knew was in the Lambeth library: for, by archbishop Sancroft's order, I had the free use of every thing that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a small variation from my History. The whole is in these words: In the ordination of a priest, after the imposition of hands, with the words still used, follows this rubric; " Then the bishop shall deliver to every one " of them the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice, or " cup, with the bread, in the other hand, and say, *Take* " *thou authority*, &c." In the consecration of a bishop, this rubric is; " The elected bishop, having upon him a

" surplice and a cope, shall be presented by two bishops, " being also in surplices and copes, having their pastoral " staves in their hands." And after the form of the consecration, this rubric follows; " Then shall the archbishop " lay the Bible upon his neck, saying, *Give heed to read-* " *ing.*" The next rubric is, " Then shall the archbishop put " into his hand the pastoral staff, saying, *Be to the flock of* " *Christ a shepherd;*" on to the end of the charge, now given all together, but then divided in two. This book was printed by Richard Grafton, the king's printer, in March 1549; or by the Roman account, 1550. I have given this full account of that matter in my own justification: I am sorry that I cannot return this learned person his compliment to myself, *that he was led into a mistake.*

The next, and indeed the last particular, that out of many more I will mention, is, the setting down the explanation, that was made upon the order for kneeling at the sacrament in king Edward's time, wrong in a very material word: for in that the words were, " That there was not in the sacra- P. 310. " ment any real or essential presence of Christ's natural Col. II. " flesh and blood;" but he instead of that puts, " corporal " presence." It seems in this he only looked at the rubric, as it is now at the end of the communion service, upon a conceit that it stands now as it was in king Edward's book, though it was at that time changed: and we know who was D. P. G. the author of that change, and who pretended that a *corporal presence* signified such a presence as a body naturally has, which the assertors of transubstantiation itself do not, and cannot pretend is in this case; where they say the body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a spirit is present. And he who had the chief hand in procuring this alteration had a very extraordinary subtilty, by which he reconciled the opinion of a real presence in the sacrament with the last words of the rubric, " That the natural body " and blood of Christ were in heaven, and not here; it " being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at " one time in more places than one." It was thus: a body is in a place, if there is no intermediate body but a *vacuum*

between it and the place; and he thought, that, by the virtue of the words of consecration, there was a *cylinder* of a *vacuum* made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven: so that, no body being between, it was both in heaven and in the elements. Such a solemn piece of folly as this can hardly be read without indignation. But if our author favours this conceit, yet, when he sets down that which was done in king Edward's reign, he ought not to have changed the word, especially such an important one. I shall say no more of that work, but that there appeared to me, quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the popish doctrine, and to censure the reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity, if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other protestant church.

But as I thought myself bound to give this warning to such as may have heard of that work, or that have seen it; so there is another History lately written in French, and which, I hope, is soon to appear in our own language, which I cannot recommend more than it deserves. It is Mr. L'Enfant's History of the Council of Constance; in which that excellent person has with great care, and a sincerity liable to no exception, given the world, in the history of that council, so true a view of the state of the church, and of religion, in the age before the reformation, that I know no book so proper to prepare a man for reading the History of the Reformation, as the attentive reading of that noble work. He was indeed well furnished with a collection of excellent materials, gathered with great fidelity and industry by the learned doctor Vander Hordt, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt; and procured for him by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that most serene and pious prince Rodolph August, the late duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, who set himself with great care, and at a vast charge, to procure from all places the copies of all papers and manuscripts that could be found, to give light to the proceedings of that great assembly: that collection amounted

to six volumes in folio. From these authentic vouchers the history of that council is now happily compiled. And if that learned author can find materials to give us as full and as clear a history of the council of Basil, as he has given of that of Constance, I know no greater service can be done the world: for by it, popery will appear in its true and native colours, free from those palliating disguises which the progress of the reformation, and the light which by that has been given the world, has forced upon those of that communion. We have the celebrated History of the Council of Trent, first published here at London, written with a true sublimity of judgment, and an unbiassed sincerity: which has received a great confirmation, even from cardinal Palavicini's attempt to destroy its credit, and a much greater of late from that curious discovery of Vargas's Letters. But how well and how justly soever the history that P. Paulo gave the world of that council is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late History of the Council of Constance even to that admired work; so far at least, as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have written after that noble pattern, which the famous Venetian friar has given to all the writers of ecclesiastical history.

Since I published my Introduction, I fell on many papers concerning the reformation in Scotland, which had escaped the diligence of that grave and judicious writer archbishop Spotswood; of which I have given a full account, and have used the best endeavours I could to be furnished with all the other materials that I could hear of. It is true, I never searched into a lately gathered famous library in this place; but yet I had from some, on whose good judgment and great care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, every thing that they found material to my purpose.

No curiosity pleased me more than that noble record of the legate's proceedings in the matter of king Henry's divorce; of which I had the free use, as of every thing else that was in the library of my learned and dear brother, the

late bishop of Ely; in whose death the church and all his friends, and none more than myself, have had an invaluable loss. I read that record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full abstract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me since; for though, upon the credit of so noble a record, I have said that the king and queen were never together in court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that king himself, in a letter bearing date the 23d of June, to his ambassadors at Rome, in these words; "Both "we and the queen appeared in person:" and he sets forth the assurances the cardinals gave of their proceeding without favour or partiality; "yet she departed out of court, though "thrice called to appear, and was denounced contumacious." The only reconciling of this apparent contradiction seems to be this; that they were indeed together in the hall where the court sat, but that it was before the cardinals sat down, and had formed the court: for as it is not to be imagined that in the record so material a step could have been omitted, so highly to the honour of the court; so it is not likely that the queen, after her appeal, would have owned the court, or have appeared before those judges: therefore the most probable account of that particular is this, that the king intending to appear in the court, the queen went thither after him, and made that speech to him in the open hall, that I mentioned in my former work: but all this was over, and they were both gone, before the court was opened, or that the cardinals had taken their places; so that their appearance could be no part of the record of the court.

I am now to give an account of some papers that I add as an Appendix, for they relate to the former volumes. The first of these was sent me by one Mr. Thomas Granger, of whom I can give no other account, but that I understood he was a clergyman. He dated his letter from Lammerton, near Tavistoke, in Devon, the seventh of February $168\frac{3}{4}$. I wrote him such a civil answer, as so kind a censure deserved: and I promised that I would make my acknowledgments more publicly to him whensoever I reviewed that

work. Upon my settling at Salisbury, I inquired after him, but I was told he was dead: so I lost the occasion of returning my thanks to him in a more particular manner, which I now express thus publicly.

I had another letter, writ in another strain, full of expostulation, from Anthony (who affected to write himself) à Wood. He thought it incumbent on him to justify himself, since I had reflected on him: so he gave this vent to it. I wrote short remarks on it; one of these I find is in the bishop of Worcester's hand: they were sent to bishop Fell, to be communicated to him; but whether they were, or not, I cannot tell. The thing has escaped my memory, but the paper still remains with me; and therefore I have thought it a justice to Mr. Wood's memory, and to his writings, to insert it here.

The third paper was drawn by me at Paris, in the year 1685. My History being then translated into French, was much read; and as to the main conduct of our reformation, it was approved by some men of great name. At that time there was an embroilment between the court of Rome and that of Versailles; and the propositions that passed in the year 1682 seemed to threaten a greater rupture to follow. Upon that, the scheme of the English reformation was a subject of common discourse; and that was so much magnified by those who were called the *Converters*, that the hope of a reformation in France was one of the artifices that prevailed on some, who knew not the *depths of Satan*, and were easily wrought on to make their court by changing their religion, in hope that a great reformation of abuses among them was then projected. But one of the learnedest men that ever I knew of that communion said then to myself, that all that was only done to fright pope Innocent the Eleventh, who was then in the interests of the house of Austria; but that whensoever they should have a pope in the interests of France, their court would not only declare him infallible in points of doctrine, but even in matters of fact: and he added, that it was an abuse that people put upon themselves, to imagine, that with what pomp or zeal

soever the court seemed to support those articles passed in the assembly of the clergy, that this could have any other effect but to bring the court of Rome into their interests. He said, this had been cardinal Mazarine's practice during his whole ministry: when he could not carry matters to his mind at Rome, he showed such favour to the Jansenists, as let many of them into great dignities; but when he had brought that court to what he designed, he presently changed his conduct towards them.

A person of distinction at Paris, finding my History so much liked, wrote a censure upon it. This run through many hands, but was never printed: it fell into Mr. Auzout's hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an answer to it, and got it to be translated into French: it was favourably received by many in Paris. I do not find the copy of that censure among my papers; but I have still the copy of my remarks on it, from which the substance of that censure may be gathered: so I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The fourth paper is a large collection of many mistakes (descending even to literal ones) in both the volumes of my History, and in the Records published in them, which a learned and worthy person has read with more exactness than either my amanuensis or myself had done. I publish these sheets, as that unknown person sent them to me; whom I never saw, as far as I remember, and who will not suffer me to give any other account of him, but that he lives in one of the universities. His copy of my work being of the second edition, only some very few of the errors marked that had crept into the second, but that were not in the first edition, are struck out. In several particulars I do not perfectly agree with these corrections: but I set them down as they were sent me, without any remarks on them; and I give my hearty thanks in the fullest manner I can, to him who was first at the pains to make this collection, and then had the goodness to communicate it to me in so obliging a manner: for he gave me a much greater power over these papers than I have thought fit to assume.

The next paper is a much shorter one: it is indeed the abstract of a larger paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my History, and have not meddled with some remarks made on Harmer's Specimen, and many more made on the Rights of an English Convocation. These did not belong to my subject; so I have not copied them out. The writer has not let me know his name; he sent the sheets to me in an unsubscribed letter, to which I wrote an answer by the conveyance that he marked out to me: but I have heard no more of him.

The sixth and last paper was sent me by the sincere and diligent Mr. Strype, who has descended to such a full and minute correction, both of my History, and of my copies of the Records, that I confess it gave me great satisfaction. Many of his corrections may seem so inconsiderable, that it may be suggested that they were not worth the while: but my whole concern in writing being to deliver the transactions of a former age faithfully down to posterity, nothing could please me more than to have every error I had fallen into discovered; and it was no small satisfaction to me, to find that a writer, who has been now above thirty years examining all that passed in that age, and has made great discoveries of many secrets hitherto not known; and who was so kind as to pass over nothing, how small and inconsiderable soever it may appear to be, that was liable to correction; yet did not touch upon any one thing that is of any moment in my whole work. This I look on as a very authentic confirmation of it all, except in the places thus censured, by one who has searched into all the transactions of that time with so much application and success.

This work was composed above a year ago, and after it was read and corrected by some proper judges, it was put in the press, and was printed off to the end of king Edward's reign, before the first of August last: nor has any thing been added to it since that time, except some very few particulars in the last book relating to Scotland.

I cannot conclude this Preface, and so dismiss this work out of my hands, without some reflections on what has ap-

peared among us of late, but too evidently, in a course of some years. Many who profess great zeal for the legal establishment, yet seem to be set on forming a new scheme both of religion and government; and are taking the very same methods, only a little diversified, that have been pursued in popery, to bring the world into a blind dependance upon the clergy, and to draw the wealth and strength of the nation into their hands.

The opinion of the sacrament's being an expiatory sacrifice, and of the necessity of secret confession and absolution, and of the church's authority acting in an independence on the civil powers, were the foundations of popery, and the seminal principles out of which that mass of corruptions was formed. They have no colour for them in the New Testament, nor in the first ages of Christianity; and are directly contrary to all the principles on which the reformation was carried on, and to every step that was made in the whole progress of that work: and yet these of late have been notions much favoured, and written for with much zeal, not to say indecency; besides a vast number of little superstitious practices, that in some places have grown to a great height, so that we were insensibly going off from the reformation, and framing a new model of a church totally different from all our former principles, as well as from our present establishment: to all which they have added that singular and extravagant conceit of the invalidity of baptism, unless ministered by one episcopally ordained; though this not only cuts off all communion with the foreign protestant churches; of which, perhaps, they make no great account; but makes doubtings to arise with relation to great numbers, both among ourselves, and in the Roman communion.

This I lament; not that I think that there is such a sacredness in any human constitution, that it is never to be called in question, or altered: for if we had the same reasons to alter any thing established at the reformation, that our fathers had to alter the former establishment in the times of popery, I should acknowledge we had now as good

grounds to change the present, as our ancestors had then to change the former constitution. The scriptures are the only sure foundation of our faith that is unalterable; all other constitutions being always to be governed by that perfect declaration of God's holy will with relation to mankind. But it gives a just indignation, to see the same men make wide steps to great alterations on the one hand, and yet make heavy complaints where there is no just occasion given, and that about points of mere speculation; whereas the other relate to matters of practice, which had been in former ages so managed, that the whole complex of the Christian religion was totally depraved by them.

We have also rules and rubrics for worship that are our standards, fixed by law: and yet we see a humour of innovation making a great progress in these, without the least complaint, by the same persons who are apt to make tragical outcries on the smallest transgressions on the other hand.

Both are very culpable: but of the two, we find the growth of superstition has been so spreading, as well as so specious, that the extremes of that hand may be justly reckoned the more dangerous; one of the worst effects of superstition being that with which our Saviour charged the pharisees of his time, that while they were exact in *tithing mint, anise, and cummin, they omitted the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, mercy, and faith:* in opposition to which, he gives a standing rule, applicable to all such cases; *These things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.* This relates to practices of a lower order, but such as are commanded; whereas voluntary and assumed ones, like the washings among the Jews in our Saviour's time, eat out the sense of the great duties of religion: instead of which, some trifling performances are set up and are highly magnified, while the others are spoken of more coldly. Nor does any thing feed a censorious and uncharitable temper more than these voluntary and distinguishing practices, which as they are the badges of different parties, so they are engines to keep up that wrath, emulation, and

hatred, that has made such havock among us of the great and indispensable duties of *peace, brotherly-kindness, and charity.*

These have been but too visibly the arts of Satan to divide and distract us, and have oftener than once brought us near the brink of ruin. God has often rescued us, while the continuance and progress of these evil dispositions have as often made us relapse into a broken and disjointed state. Oh that we may at last *see the things that belong to our peace,* and *follow after those things that make for peace, and the things wherewith we may edify one another.* In this prayer I will continue as long as I live, and I hope to end my days with it. We must ask it of God, and of him only: it is in vain to ask it of some men, who, when we *speak to them of peace, make them ready to battle:* we must look for it only to him who said, *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.* The world will only give it to those of their own knot and party: but *the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy: and the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace of them that make peace.*

THE

INTRODUCTION.

I COME, after a long interval of three and thirty years, to give all the finishing to the History of our REFORMATION, that I have been able to collect, either from new discoveries that have come in my own way, or the kind advertisements of friends, and the severe animadversions of critics; of which I have endeavoured to make the best use that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in haste, and did not reflect enough on the matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an account how it happened to be so. When Sanders's History was published in France, it had so ill an effect there, that some of our best divines were often called on to hasten such an answer to it, as might stop the course of so virulent a book. Those to whom these advices were sent thought me a proper person to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious bishop of Worcester is the only person now alive that was concerned in the choice: and he having read all the printed books that he could hear of relating to those times, had taken the dates of every remarkable thing that passed out of them; which he caused to be copied out for me: they are about eight sheets of paper. Upon this stock I set out, and searched all the public offices about the town with a labour and diligence, that was then looked on as no contemptible performance. I marked every thing as exactly as I could. I might in such a variety make some mistakes, for which men of candour will make just allowances. But when I had gone through all that lay thus open to me, I knew what treasures were still in the Cotton library.

The present bishop of Worcester carried me to sir John Cotton, to ask admittance: but a great prelate had been beforehand with us, and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said, (as he was prepared,) that unless the archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me, as a person fit to have access to his library, he desired to be excused: and though that worthy prelate said, he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that: so I saw it was resolved on, either not to let that work go on; or, at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it.

With this we were at a full stop, when, accidentally meeting with sir John Marsham the younger, I told him how I was denied access to the Cotton library: but he told me he was by marriage a nephew to the family, and that for many years he had free access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleased. So I, with a copier, went thither under his protection; and we were hard at work from morning to night for ten days: but then the owner, with his family, coming to town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haste we were in, I did make such a progress, that the good bishop, together with the late archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, and the late bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet, thought I was sufficiently furnished with materials for composing the first volume. Every part of it, as I wrote it, passed through their hands, and under their censure; and I submitted to their judgment in every particular.

I have been told, one that was much practised in that library, who is now dead, has censured me for not comparing what my copier wrote carefully with the originals. To this

all I can say is, that, as my copier by much practice was become pretty exact, so I made him read all over to me, having the originals in my hands. I cannot say, in such dull, though necessary work as the collating those things, I carried along with me all the attention that was requisite; but I did it as well as I could: and when I was lately in the Cotton library, I read over several of the originals, but found no material differences from the copies I had printed. One indeed runs through all those in the English language, which might perhaps offend a severe critic, that the old spelling is not every where exactly copied. I did recommend it to my copier, and he observed it often; but he said, when he wrote quick, it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated spelling along with his pen.

The first volume lay a year after I wrote it before it was put in the press, and was offered to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that trouble. When it was brought to secretary Coventry for his license, he was pleased to say, that he dipped into it out of curiosity; but added, that he found such an entertainment in it, that he could not part with it till he had read it quite through. The earl of Nottingham, lord chancellor, took time to read and examine it, and to add many remarks in several parts of it; in all which I submitted to his censure: and some smaller matters coming in my way, they were added. So when those, under whose direction I made every step in it, advised me to put it in the press, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few months after the discovery of the popish plot; and the ferment of that working powerfully over all the nation, the work was favourably received: and as I had the thanks of both houses of parliament for it, with a desire to finish what I had begun; so those who were the most zealous against popery pressed me to make all possible haste with the second volume, when they understood that I had made considerable discoveries with relation to queen Mary's reign. By that time sir John Cotton, seeing the good use I had made of his library, was pleased to acknowledge the injustice of the suggestions that had been

made to my prejudice, and allowed me free liberty to examine every thing in it: in which I ought to have been more exact than I was, in searching into the matters set forth in my first volume; but the repeated importunities of my friends for my publishing the second volume so far prevailed, that I only examined what belonged to that period. I took indeed some papers relating to the former reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other materials brought me from several hands, upon the public notice that I gave of my design in the first volume.

That primitive bishop, Fell, of Oxford, engaged an acquaintance of his, Mr. Fullman, to make remarks on it; which he did with a particular acrimony of style: for which the bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was material; and sent it to him, to see if he did not find in it the substance of all his remarks on the first at the end of the second volume. It has been published over and over again, that he complained that I did not print a full account of his censure. The fact was thus: I sent it to him by the carrier, and begged of him, that, if he had any exception to the abstract I had made of his remarks, he would return it back to me as soon as was possible; for the press was to be stopped till it came. I stayed for it till the second return of the carrier; and when no answer came, I reckoned he acquiesced in my abstract: so I put it in the press. But before it was printed off, his answer came by the third return of the carrier; and I, finding that he excepted to some few parts of my paper, was at the charge of reprinting it exactly to his mind: and he afterwards received the present that I made him, without any insinuation of any complaint.

Thus this work was sent abroad into the world: nor do I yet see, what more I could have done to procure me better information, nor what other steps I could have made. It took quiet possession of the belief of the nation at home, and of a great part of Europe abroad, being translated into four languages: and for some years I heard of neither censure nor answer.

When I went to Paris in the year 1685, I found there was a censure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my hands, and I presently wrote an answer to it, which I got to be put into French; and all who read both papers seemed fully satisfied with my answer: which will be found at the end of this volume. I was told, that it was writ by Mr. Le Grand; who had given out in many companies, that he had great objections ready to be made to my History. Upon that, two learned and worthy men, Mr. Auzont and Mr. Thevenot, designed to bring us together, and to hear what Mr. Le Grand had to object. We dined at Mr. Thevenot's; and after dinner, for the space of three hours, Mr. Le Grand proposed his objections, and I answered them on the sudden, far from charming them with my eloquence; which Mr. Le Grand must certainly mean as a jest, for I pretend to no more French, than to be understood when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling; and yet it was so fully answered by me, that we parted civilly, and (as I thought) good friends: and when he was gone, both Thevenot and Auzont said, they were ashamed to hear such poor things objected, (*pauvretés* was their word,) after the noise that Mr. Le Grand had made. But two days after, Mr. Auzont came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. Thevenot's, and desired me not to speak of that matter to any person. The court was then so set on extirpating heresy, that they apprehended any thing said by me might bring me into trouble: they would do me justice, so I needed not be concerned to do it to myself.

I must also add, that Mr. Le Grand said, after he had offered his objections, that, as to the main of my History, he could furnish me with many materials to support it: and he made me a present of a very valuable book, published by Camusat at Troyes, 1613, with the title of *Mélanges Historiques*; of which I have made good use in the following work. The matter rested thus till the year 1688, that Mr. Le Grand published the History of King Henry the Eighth's Divorce: and soon after that, two other volumes of his appeared: one was a severe invective against me and my

History; the other was a collection of letters, by which his History was justified. In this last there are some very valuable ones, to which I have had occasion oftener than once to refer my reader. In the two first of these tomes, Mr. Le Grand thought fit to lay aside all sort of good manners, and to treat me more in the style of an angry monk, than of one that had lived long in the company of well-bred men. I imputed this to a management he was under by some of the court of that unfortunate prince, who soon after felt the tragical effects of such unhappy counsellors as had then the ascendant. To these I did believe Mr. Le Grand had dedicated his pen: and that drew from me a severe postscript to a censure that I published upon the bishop of Meaux's Book of Variations; for which I am heartily sorry, and ask his pardon.

The truth is, the first paper in his third tome seemed to justify any thing that could have been said, to expose a man that could offer such an abstract as he gave of it in his History, and them that judged so ill as to think fit to print that letter, that does plainly contradict the sense he gave of it. The letter is writ by Pace, dean of St. Paul's, to king Henry, (said by him to be written in the year 1526; but in that he is mistaken, as will appear afterwards,) on the subject of the divorce. He owns that he writ the book, which had been brought to the king the day before, by the advice and assistance of Dr. Wakefield; who was ready to defend it all, either in writing, or in a public disputation. "[a] And since

[a] Et quoniam majestas tua mihi significavit, nescio quos e suis literatis consiliariis scripsisse Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquisivi quid id sibi vellet; et tandem inveni id indubitato falsum esse: est compendium, ac repetitio, seu, ut ita dicam, recapitulatio Legis Mosaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad sensum rei attinet illud, idem significat quod habetur in Hebræo; id est, liber, in quo continetur secunda Lex, vel repetitio primæ Legis. Post meum a majestate tua discessum, D. R. Wakefeldus unice me rogavit, ut sibi significarem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum staret a te an contra te? Ei ita respondi, Te nihil velle quod esset alienum a nobili principe, et singularibus virtutibus prædito; illum majestati tuæ rem gratissimam facturum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declaret. Tum ille nescio quo ductus timore negavit se hoc posse facere, nisi

" he heard from the king, that some of his learned coun-
" sellors wrote, that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus, he
" shows him how false that was. It was only a recapitula-
" tion of the Mosaic Law. It seems they thought this was
" the importance of the Greek word *Deuteronomy*, (or a
" second Law;) but he shows, that it imported only a re-
" petition of the former Law, and the book had another
" title in the Hebrew. Then he says, that Wakefield de-
" sired him to let him know, whether the king had a mind
" to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him,
" or against him. To this Pace answered, that the king
" desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous
" prince; and that he would do a most acceptable thing to
" him, if he would take pains to let him know what was the
" pure verity. Then he, being under some fear, said he
" could not set about it, unless his majesty would enjoin
" and command it; but when he received his commands, he
" would set forth such things both against him, and for him,
" as no other person within his kingdom could do." There is nothing here but what is honourable both for the king, for Pace, and for Wakefield.

Mr. Le Grand has made a very particular abstract of this. He says: " [b] Pace, designing to flatter his prince's passion, " thought they should not stand either on the Vulgar, or

majestas tua id sibi injungeret et mandaret; et si mandares se producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere posset.

[b] Nous avons la lettre de ce dernier, (Pace,) qui cherchant à flatter la passion de son prince, vouloit que sans s'arreter ni à la Vulgate ni à la Traduction des Septante, on eût recours au texte Hebreu; qu'il soutenoit luy estre plus favorable. Il en ecrivit à Robert Wakefield, et luy decouvrit l'embarras où le roy se trouvoit, le priant de luy vouloir eclaircir cette matiere. Wakefield, ravy de travailler pour le roy, repondit d'abord, qu'il appuieroit ce que Pace avoit dit à Henry. Puis faisant reflexion que Pace pouvoit le tromper ou se tromper luy meme, ou que le roy changeroit peut estre, il alla trouver Pace, et luy temoignoit, qu'il souhaitroit que sa majesté luy ecrivît elle meme, ce qu'elle vouloit qu'il fît, et si il devoit defendre le pour ou le contre, et qu'alors selon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des eclaircissemens ou pour ou contre, qui passeroient la capacite de tous les Anglois. C'est ainsi que Wakefield, qui avoit plus de vanité que de religion, trafiquoit de ses sentiments.

"the LXX. translators, but have recourse only to the "Hebrew, which he maintained was more favourable to the "king. He had written to Wakefield, and showed him the "trouble the king was in, and desired he would clear up "the matter. Wakefield, ravished to be thus employed, "said he would justify all that Pace had said to the king: "but then, apprehending that Pace might deceive him, or "be deceived himself, or perhaps that the king might change "his mind, he desired that the king himself would let him "know what he would have him to do; whether he should "defend the one side or the other: and he would do ac- "cording to the orders he should receive, and make such "discoveries for or against it as should pass the capacity of "all Englishmen. Thus (ends he) Wakefield, who had "more vanity than religion, was driving a traffick with his "sentiments."

I have put in the margin the Latin of Pace's letters, and the account that Mr. Le Grand gives of it in French, that the reader may judge what can be thought of a man that represents things so unfairly, and makes such inferences from them. I confess this raised in me too much indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought such a writer deserved not to be followed in every step. I likewise employed at several times some who went to Paris, to try in what esteem that performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the accounts sent me from thence, the book had lost the esteem of all persons there, so that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring myself to examine it minutely; yet where any matter of weight requires it, I shall either justify or retract what I had delivered in my History. I shall say no more of that work in this place, save only that the original judgment of the Sorbonne, about which Mr. Le Grand seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the conference I had with him, and in his book, is now found by Mr. Rymer, among the other judgments of the universities, in the secret treasury, out of which that laborious searcher into our original treaties has already published fifteen great volumes in folio. Of

this I shall give a more particular account in its proper place.

The next attack that was made on my work was in the year 1693, under the title of, *A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England; by Anthony Harmer.* It is well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr. Henry Wharton, who had published two volumes with the title of Anglia Sacra. He had examined the dark ages before the reformation with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age. He pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this specimen was only a hasty collection of a few out of many other discoveries he could make. This consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates of transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended: so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books, or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the several offices. He likewise follows me through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these: he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was writ with so much malice and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery in the end of king James's reign, being then chaplain to archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift. So when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake his post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at archbishop Tillotson's hands. I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do; but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising any thing before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton upon this answer thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen. Upon which I, in a letter

that I printed, addressed to the present bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time; for, till that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt; and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon: he said he was set on to it, and that, if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover every thing to me. I despised that offer; but said, that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve: but Mr. Chiswel (at whose house he then lay, being sick) said, he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing. He died about a year after: so I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a voucher for any thing that he objects, I will submit and own my error; but I have no reason to take any thing on his word. I have a work lying on my table, which shows how little regard is due to his collections. It was sent me by a worthy person in one of the universities, and is a collating of ten pages of his Anglia Sacra with the manuscript that he vouches: it swells indeed to a book. Wharton omits the most material passage of an instrument that blemished one of his heroes. In some places there are errors in every line; and there are three capital errors in one line, and about fifty in that small compass. I have showed the book to a great many persons, and will show it to any who desire to see it; but do not descend here to further particulars, for that perhaps might discover the author, and expose him to the malice of an ill-natured cabal. Since that time, a writer of a greater name has with abundance of ill-natured scorn pretended to undervalue my work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the remembrance of such things to posterity. Where he gives such vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract; but when he appeals to some nameless manuscript in his own possession, I will have no regard to this: for a writer that has been found too faulty in citing such vouchers as can be examined, ought

not to expect belief when he has recourse to such as are kept by him as secrets, not to be communicated but to a few confidants; nor entirely to these, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with airs of great assurance and scorn, has been so trifling, that some good judges have thought I showed them too much respect to take any notice of them: they thought it was enough to mark down such small mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such reflections. I would have complied with their advice, if I had not a just zeal to maintain the credit of that work: which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest matters, though with all the indeceny and contempt possible.

A very worthy person in one of the universities has sent me a copious collection of remarks on both my former volumes, but upon condition not to name him; which I will observe religiously, because I promised it, though it is not easy to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an obligation: but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had assistance from some other hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them in their proper places.

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offered to me in a volume apart, than to reprint my former volumes with these corrections, as some have advised me to do. There are some thousands of the former impressions abroad in the nation, that would be of little value, if any such new edition should appear. I have ever looked on such new enlarged editions as little less than a robbing the public: besides that in so doing I should only drop those errors of my former work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the public. I have ever looked on falsehoods in history, when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of lying; both the most public, and the most lasting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a discovery, they are

as bad as when done on design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could: and if, in so great a variety of materials, some are spurious, and others appear doubtful; and if, in the haste in which the circumstances of that time almost forced me to publish that work, without looking out for more aid, and without waiting for further discoveries, there are some inconsiderable errors and defects in the less important parts of my work, that relate not to the main of things; I hope the world will be so just and so favourable, as to make fair allowances for them, and to accept all the reparation I can make for past errors, when I own my failing, and set my readers right.

I come next to give an account of the reasons that moved me to set about this work at this time. The reasons of my engaging in it at first seemed now to return upon me, and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The danger of a popish successor then in view, and the dreadful apprehensions we had of the power of France, and of the zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the *pestilent heresy, that had so long infested those northern kingdoms*, was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the nation, by showing both what popery, and what the reformation was; by showing the cruelty and falsehood of the former, and what the patience and courage of our reformers was: and the work had generally so good an effect then, that, if the like dangers seem to revert, it may not be an improper attempt to try once more to awaken a nation that has perhaps forgot past dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any difference between the present state of things, and that we were in above thirty years ago, it is, that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our learning, vitiated in principle; tainted, some with atheism, others with superstition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for popery. Our old breaches are not healed; and new ones, not known in former times, are raised and fomented

with much industry and great art, as well as much heat: many are barefacedly going back to that misery, from which God with such a mighty hand rescued us, and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing chain of happy providences; but *the deaf adder stops her ear, let the charmer charm never so wisely.*

All books relating to those controversies lie dead in shops, few calling for them; many of them (as men of the trade have told me) being looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard. There are, after all, some real and sensible arguments, that may perhaps have some effect on those, who let not themselves be moved with matters of dry speculation, or with cold reasoning. I have made many discoveries, that may awaken some, on whom the clearest demonstrations will perhaps make no impression.

In queen Mary's time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty, which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission; I have had occasion to see much further into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original Council-Book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecence of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month: then a conceit was put in her head, that she could not bear her child as long as there was a heretic left in the kingdom.

It was a great part of the business of the council, to quicken the persecution every where. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties, to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their

friends to attend on them. Letters of thanks were writ to such officious persons as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others to the torture. Thanks were in a particular style sent to some gentlemen, who (as it is expressed) came *so honestly, and of themselves, to assist the sheriffs at those executions.* Pretences of conspiracies were every where under examination: many were committed, and tried for words. Letters were writ to corporations, about the elections of mayors; and the lords had many letters, to look carefully to the elections of parliament-men, and to engage the electors to reserve their voices for such as they should name. Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned: but they were ordered to do so no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to signify what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter, of a more singular strain, was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, to give substantial orders, (I give the words in the Council-Book,) "that when any obstinate man, condemned "by order of the law, shall be delivered to be punished for "heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men "appointed to be at the execution; who may be charged "to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comfort-"ing, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use "themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended "and committed to ward: and, besides, to give command-"ment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices or "other servants to be abroad, other than such as their mas-"ters will answer for: and that this order be always ob-"served in like cases hereafter." Such pains were taken to extinguish all the impressions of humanity, or at least to punish every expression of it. And this was so constantly

pursued, that three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury on the tenth of November, a week before her death; for she died on the 17th.

Nor were they satisfied with all these arts of cruelty in England; but hearing that there were some of that sort in Ireland, one Cole was sent over with a commission to set a persecution on foot there. When he was at Chester, the corporation waited on him, in respect to his being sent by the queen: he showed them his powers and letters to the government of Ireland; but leaving his papers on the table, when he went, in respect to this body, to conduct them down stairs, the mistress of the house, being secretly a zealous woman, did with a particular address make up a packet like his, in which she put a pack of cards, the knave of clubs being turned uppermost: and so she took away his papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to Dublin, and delivered his message and packet to the council there; which was certainly received with scorn and indignation. He came back to London, and got new powers, a few days before the queen's death; for the news of it overtook him before he had his passage. The levity of this story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several books, in which it is said that the woman had for this service a pension from queen Elizabeth. Cox's History of Ireland.

I have in my former History showed what steps were made in that reign towards the setting up an inquisition in England; which was very probably suggested by king Philip and some of his Spaniards as the only sure method to extirpate heresy: but I have since seen some further steps made towards it. Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was in high favour; and he, who saw what was the method to secure and advance it, moved, that, instead of the dilatory proceedings in the ordinary courts, such offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. To this the council wrote answer; They commended his zeal, and acknowledged that such persons deserved to be so used: yet it was not thought the best way; but they were to be punished as the

laws did order. But when they had had their punishment, he was ordered to keep them in prison and in irons, till they came to know themselves and their duty. I have also found what he did towards the setting up an inquisition. I did formerly print the instructions that were sent to the county of Norfolk: of these the sixth did run thus; "They "shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, "as near as may be, some one or more honest men, secretly "instructed to give information of the inhabitants amongst "or about them." I find in a register of the earl of Sussex, that to the sixth article it is agreed, "That the justices of "the peace, in every of their limits, shall call secretly be- "fore them one or two honest and secret persons, or more, "by their discretions, and such as they shall think good; "and command them by oath, or otherways, as the same "justices shall think good, that they shall secretly learn "and search out such person or persons, as shall evil behave "themselves idly at church; or despise openly by words "the king and queen's proceedings; or go about to make "or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering to- "gether of the people; or that shall tell any seditious or "lewd tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person "or persons to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insur- "rection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And "also, that the same persons, so to be appointed, shall de- "clare to the same justices of the peace, the ill behaviour "of lewd, disordered persons, whether it shall be for using "unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour "of such suspected persons, as shall be within the same "town, or near thereabouts. And that the same informa- "tion shall be given secretly to the justices: and the same "justices shall call such accused persons before them, and "examine them, without declaring by whom they be ac- "cused. And that the same justices shall upon their ex- "aminations punish the offenders, according as their offences "shall appear to them upon the accusement and examina- "tion, by their discretion, either by open punishment, or "good aberring." Here are sworn spies appointed, like the

Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. part ii. book ii. Collect. Numb. 19.

familiars of the inquisition: secret depositions not to be discovered; and upon these further proceedings are ordered. If this had been well settled, what remained to complete a court of inquisition would have been more easily carried.

Here is that, which those who look towards a popish successor must look for, when that evil day comes. All this will make little impression on those, who have no fixed belief of any thing in religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small matter to be of any religion that comes to have the law and the government on its side; and resolve to change with every wind and tide, rather than put any thing to hazard by struggling against it. Yet some compassion to those who have a more firm belief of those great truths might be expected from men of the same country, kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same religion. The reviving the fires in Smithfield, and from thence over the whole nation, has no amiable view, to make any haste to it; and least of all to those, who, if they have any principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out of their livings, or forced to abandon their families, and upon every surmise or suspicion to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the paw of the lion into parts beyond the seas: and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty contempt, with which too many have treated foreigners who took sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal revolution comes upon us, if God for our sins abandons us into the hands of treacherous and bloody men, whither can we hope to fly? For, with us, the whole reformation must fall under such an universal ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet since that set of men is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it, as may be assigned them; there are other considerations of another sort, arising from some papers, (put in my hands since I wrote the History,) that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible part.

It is well known, how great and how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey-lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are. I will not enter into any strict computation of what the whole may amount to. The resumption of these would be no easy matter to many families: and yet all these must be thrown up; for sacrilege in the church of Rome is a mortal sin. And therefore cardinal Pole, even in that pretended confirmation of the grants that were then made, laid a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands, to remember the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for profaning the holy vessels, though they had not been taken by himself, but by his father. It is true, this may be supposed to relate only to church-plate; though there is no reason to restrain such a solemn charge to so inconsiderable a part of what had been taken from the church: no doubt, he had the whole in his view. And this showed, that, though he seemed to secure them from any claim that the church might have, or any suit or proceeding upon that account, yet he left the weight of the sin on their consciences; which a dexterous confessor might manage so as to make the possessors yield up their rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer: the thing was still a sin, and the possession was unjust. And to make it easy to restore in the last minutes, the statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost. Besides that, the engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and that in forty years time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value.

But setting all this aside, it has appeared evidently to me, from some papers sent me some years after I wrote my History, that all that transaction was fraudulent, and had so many nullities in it, that it may be broke through, whensoever there is a power strong enough to set about it. In the first powers that are in that collection, all the grace and favour that the pope intended to the possessors of those

lands was, to indemnify them for the mean profits they had received, and for the goods that had been consumed: *They restoring first (if that shall seem expedient) the lands themselves that are unjustly detained by them.* This was only the forgiving what was past; but the right of the church was insisted on for the restitution of those lands. The reservation in these words, (*if that shall seem expedient to you,*) can be understood in no other sense, but that it was referred to his discretion, whether he should insist to have the restitution first made before he granted the indemnity for the mean profits, or not.

It is true, the council in England, who were in that supported by the emperor, thought these powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done; but in so artificial a manner, that the whole settlement made by Pole signified nothing, but to lay the nation once asleep, under a false apprehension of their being secured in those possessions, when no such thing was intended: nor was it at all granted, even by the latest powers that were sent to cardinal Pole. For in these, after the pope had referred the settling that matter to him, that he might transact it with such possessors for whom the queen should intercede, and dispense with their enjoying them for the future without any scruple, a salvo is added, by which the whole matter is still reserved to the pope for his final confirmation, in these words; *Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione:* "Saving always in such things, in which for "their greatness and importance it shall appear to you that "this holy see ought in reason to be consulted, our and the "said see's good pleasure and confirmation." By these words it is very plain, that as in the powers granted they seemed to be limited to a few, to such for whom the QUEEN should intercede, since it is not expressed that the pope thought that she should intercede for all that possessed them; so they were only provisional: and therefore, since no bull of confirmation was ever obtained, all these provi-

sional powers were null and void when the confirmation was asked and denied; as all the historians of that time agree it was: and this was so suitable to pope Paul the Fourth's temper and principles, that no doubt is to be made of his persisting steadfastly in that resolution.

I know there was a mercenary writer found in king James's reign, who studied to lay all people asleep, in a secure persuasion of their titles to those lands. He pretends there was a confirmation of all that Pole did send over to England. He brings indeed some proof that it was given out and believed; which might be a part of the fraud to be used in that matter: but as no such thing appears in the Bullary, so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed supports this by an argument that destroys it quite: for he tells us, that two years after this, secretary Petre had a particular bull, confirming him in his possession of some church-lands. This shows, that either that person, who was secretary of state, knew that no confirmation was sent over, so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular bull for securing his own estate; or, whatever might be in Pole's powers, he might think such a general transaction, which the necessity of that time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to, than while that necessity continued.

General treaties and transactions have had such a fate, that few will trust to them: the spirit of the church, as well as the spirit of a treaty, will be preferred to the words of all transactions. Have not we seen, in our own days, an edict that was passed with all solemnity possible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable; yet recalled with this very preamble, that it was made in compliance to the necessity of that time, and on design to bring those that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it into the bosom of the church? There is so much in the canon law against all sacrilege, and all alienations of what is once dedicated to God, that though some canonists may have carried the plenitude of the papal power so far as to reach even to this, which this hired writer builds on; yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by

others, that it is certain, whensoever the papacy has strength enough to set aside all the settlement then made, they will find sufficient grounds in law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The princes of Germany, whose settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any treaty with either emperor or popish princes, with relation to the church-lands, of which they possessed themselves; but to the treaties and guarantees into which they entered with one another: and so they are engaged by their faith and by their mutual interests to maintain one another and themselves in their possessions. Nor does it appear that a papal bull was ever obtained to confirm them: on the contrary, the pope's legates protested against them; and, as will appear afterwards, Charles the Fifth's confessor refused to give him absolution for his consenting to edicts of that sort. If the necessity of the time makes it necessary to maintain that settlement, so long it will be maintained, and no longer.

But to put this matter out of all doubt, that same pope did, soon after our ambassadors were sent to him, by a bull dated the twelfth of July 1555, within three weeks after the English ambassadors had their audience, condemn all the alienations of church-lands, and even all leases for one or more lives, or for a term longer than three years. This he extends to all cathedrals, monasteries, and hospitals; and annuls all leases, grants, exchanges, mortgages, and obligations of lands, castles, towns, and cities, even though made by popes themselves, or by their authority and order, and by the presidents, prelates, or rectors of churches, monasteries, or hospitals, of what rank and dignity soever, cardinals by name being expressed, that were done to the prejudice of the church, the solemnity by law required not being observed: and that which was null in the first making, but supplied by subsequent contracts, in what form soever made, though by proofs upon oath, and by what length of time soever it may claim prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null: and the detainers of goods upon those titles are required to quit possession, and to make full satis-

faction for what they have received; and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by ecclesiastical censures and pecuniary punishments.

It is true, in all this England is not expressly named; and perhaps the pope had the recovering from the family of the Farnese, that which Paul the Third had alienated to it, chiefly in his eye: but the words of this bull do plainly take in the late settlement in England; for though the English ambassadors were then newly come to Rome, demanding the confirmation of what Pole had done, yet no exceptions are made for England: so, it seems, it was intended by these general words, put in on design, to overthrow it. Now because this matter is of such great concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small piece of instruction to all who are possessed of any estate so alienated from churches, monasteries, or hospitals.

Upon the conclusion of this head, I cannot but take notice of one insinuation, that I hear some are not ashamed to make; that such a resumption may be indeed a prejudice to the laity, but that the clergy will be enriched by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning; but since some have the impudence to set it on foot, I must add, that these are vain hopes, as well as they are suggested on black designs: for though the church, take it in the bulk, has immense riches in the Roman communion; yet in no church that ever I saw are the parochial clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable; they are as the hewers of wood and drawers of water, kept at hard labour on a very poor subsistence. The several orders among them, the governing clergy, and the outward magnificence of their churches and services, devours all that treasure: so that the poor clergy, even in that state of celibate, have scarce necessary sustenance, unless it be in some capital cities, and in very vast parishes in them; they are starved, to maintain the luxury and vanity of others. This was the true occasion of all the

poverty of the parochial clergy among us; to which some remedies have been sought for, and to some degree found, ever since the reformation was first settled among us.

But none of these things will move an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but present advantages; and so they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and to give up that liberty and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation. The giving them up will be a lasting infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest curses of posterity on such perfidious betrayers of their trust: by this they will bring slavery on themselves, (which they well deserve, being indeed the worst sort of slaves,) and entail it on the succeeding generation.

I return to prosecute the account of my design in this work. I went through those volumes in the Cotton library, of which I had only a transient view formerly, and laid together all that I thought necessary to complete it. I saw a great and a fair prospect of such a change ready to be made in France, as king Henry had made in England. Mr. Le Vassor has, out of an invaluable collection of original papers that are in sir William Trumball's hands, published instructions sent by the duke of Orleans to the princes of Germany; by which, as he declared himself a protestant, so he gave in general words good hopes of his father Francis. I found also, both in papers and printed books, that king Henry often reproached Francis for not keeping his word to him; and in a long despatch of a negotiation that Paget was employed in with the admiral of France, I saw further evidence of this. I was by these indications set on to see how far I could penetrate into that secret.

I was by the favour of the earl of Dartmouth admitted to a free search of the Paper-Office, which is now in much better order and method than it was above thirty years ago, when I saw it last: and there, among other very valuable papers, I found the copy of that solemn promise that Fran-

cis made to Henry, minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand as a true copy, in these words; *An instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highness's first marriage, and the validity of the second.* "By this, he in ex- "press words condemns the pope's bull dispensing with the "marriage with queen Katharine, which he, by the unani- "mous consent of those learned men whom he had ap- "pointed to examine it, condemns as incestuous and un- "lawful; and reputes the daughter born in it spurious and "illegitimate: and that the second marriage with Anne, "then queen, was lawful and just; and that queen Eliza- "beth, born of it, was lawfully born: and he promises to "assist and maintain the king in this against all the world. "In this instrument he owns king Henry to be, under God, "the supreme head of the church of England: and he af- "firms, that many of the cardinals, in particular the late "cardinal of Ancona, and even pope Clement the Seventh "himself, did, both to his ambassador, and to himself at "Marseilles, plainly confess, that the pope's bull, and the "marriage made upon it, were null and void; and that he "would have given a definitive sentence, if some private "affections and human regards had not hindered it." This makes me conclude, that he gave other instruments of a further extent to king Henry; for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this single instrument is all that I could find out: but the lord Herbert reckons among the chief causes of king Henry's last rupture with Francis, that he had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised.

I saw, when I passed through Zurick, a volume of letters that passed between Bullinger and those English divines that had been so kindly entertained by him in that noble canton: and by the interposition of my learned, judicious, and pious friend, Mr. Turretin of Geneva, Mr. Otto, a worthy professor there, has taken such care, that copies of them are procured for me; in which we may see the sense of those who revived our reformation in queen Elizabeth's time.

Men who had been abroad, and had seen all things about them in a true light, that saw in what the strength of popery lay, and what fortified or weakened the body of the reformed, were liker to have truer views than can be expected from retired or sullen men, who have lived in a corner, and have but a small horizon.

It has been objected to me, that I have said little of proceedings in convocation, and of the struggle that the clergy made before they were brought to make the submission, which brought those bodies under restraints, that seem now uneasy to the advocates for church power. I must confess I have been very defective here: I understood that the books of convocation were burnt: none of those great men, under whose direction that work went on, knew any thing of those discoveries that have been of late made; so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet now I have examined all that I could find of those matters, I confess I am not inclined to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen. I have seen nothing in church history to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies; what has happened among ourselves of late has not made me of another mind: and I will not deny, but that my copiousness on these matters is, in my own opinion, one of the meanest parts of my work. The wisest and worthiest man in that convocation, archbishop Warham, was the person that promoted the submission the most: it was no wonder if a corrupt clergy, that made such ill use of their power, had no mind to part with any branch of it. Yet since these things have been of late such a subject of debate among us, I have taken what pains I could to gather all that is left of those times in such copies, or rather abstracts, as have been of late found in private hands: only I will set down the opinion of sir Thomas More, the best man of the popish side in that age, of those meetings. "It is true," he says, "the clergy's assembling at the convocation was called by the name of confederacies. But," he adds, "if they did assemble often, and there did such things, for which such assem-

More's Apol. 1533. fol. 241.

" blies of the clergy in every province through all Christen-
" dom from the beginning were instituted and devised,
" much more good might have grown thereof than the long
" disuse can suffer us now to perceive. But all my days,
" as far as I have heard, nor (I suppose) a good part of
" my father's neither, they came never together to convoca-
" tion, but at the request of the king; and at such their as-
" semblies, concerning spiritual things have very little done.
" Wherefore that they have been in that necessary part of
" their duty so negligent, whether God suffer to grow to
" an unperceived cause of division and grudge against
" them, God, whom their such negligence hath, I fear me,
" sore offended, knoweth."

1532. The affinity of the matter has led me to reflect on a great transaction, with relation to the church of France, which was carried on, and finally settled, in the very time that king Henry was breaking with the court of Rome. It was the concordate, that Francis the First made with pope Leo the Tenth: the king and the pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it. There are so many curious passages in the progress of that matter, that I hope the opening these will be a very acceptable entertainment to the nation: and the rather, because in it this nation will see, what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court, and to trust to the integrity and firmness of courts of justice, when an assembly of the states is no more necessary to the raising of money, and the support of the government. I know nothing writ in our language with relation to this matter, besides that account I gave of it in a book concerning the regale. It was taken from a very exact history of that transaction, that was written by Mr. Pinsons, printed anno 1666; and that seemed to some very proper judges to relate so much to our affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the nation more easily to throw off the papal authority: they saw what a filthy merchandise the court of Rome had made of the liberties of the neighbouring church, taking

care only to secure their own profits, and delivering up the rest to the crown. The best writers of that church have, on many occasions, lamented the loss of their liberties by that detestable bargain, into which Francis's necessities, wrought on by the practices of the court of Rome, drew him. "By "this the church of France, from being a queen, became" (as bishop Godeau expresses it) "a slave:" and he adds, "Our fathers have groaned, and all that love the order of "the house of God will still groan, as long as elections con- "tinue to be put down; so that we must needs enter into "the sanctuary by the way of the court." In another place, "These promotions have been always fatal to the "church; and the bishops that the court has made have "been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, "and of the oppression of the church." And he concludes, "One cannot read Nazianzen's verses of the prelates of his "time, without being struck with horror, and forced to ac- "knowledge, that a secular temper is entirely contrary to the "episcopal spirit." Of this a Greek writer makes a severe remark, in the history of Andronicus's reign, which may perhaps be as justly applied to other reigns, telling what sort of bishops were then made: "Princes choose such men to "that charge, who may be their slaves, and in all things "obsequious to what they prescribe; and may lie at their "feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their "commands." This change in their constitution has put an end, not only to national, but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the progress that Luther's doctrine was beginning to make in France; and others, during the civil wars, in order to the getting the council of Trent received in France: but now in the space of ninety years last past, these are no more brought together. The assemblies of the clergy meet only to give subsidies and to present their grievances; but do not pretend to the authority of a regular synod: and though in the year 1682 they drew up some articles, yet these had their authority only from the severity of the king's edict, till by a transaction with the court of Rome that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the matters that do properly fall within this Introduction: it remains, that I leave the sense of the subject of this, and of my two former volumes, upon the consciences of my readers. Can it be possible, that any are so depraved, as to wish we had no religion at all; or to be enemies to the Christian religion? Would these men reduce us to be a sort of Hottentots? And yet this must grow to be the effect of our being without all religion. Mankind is a creature, by his make and frame disposed to religion; and if this is not managed by true principles, all the jugglings of heathenism would again take possession of the world. If the principles of truth, justice, temperance, and of universal love, do not govern men, they will soon grow curses and plagues to one another; and a crew of priests will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all crimes, and to expiate the blackest practices by some rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that if it is not believed to be revealed by God, it will not have strength enough to resist those ill inclinations, those appetites and passions, that are apt to rise up in our minds against its dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian religion that can give a colour to prejudices against it? The whole complex of that rule of life which it prescribes is so plainly suited to our composition, both in our souls and their faculties, and in our bodies, with relation to good health, to industry and long life; and to all the interests of human society, to the order and peace of the world, and to the truth and love that are the cements and securities of the body politic; that, without any laboured proof of its divine original, these are such characters, that they may serve to prove, it is sent into the world by a lover of mankind, who knew our nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only safe, but happy.

But when to all this we add the evidence that was given at its appearing in the world; that he who was the first Author of it, and those whom he employed first to propagate

it, did upon many occasions, in full daylight, and in the sight of great multitudes, do things so far above the powers of nature, in such uncontested miracles, that by these it evidently appeared they were assisted by somewhat superior to nature, that could command it at pleasure; here is the fullest ground of conviction possible. These things were written, published, and received in the age in which they were transacted: and those writings have been preserved with great care, and are transmitted down to us, at the distance of above sixteen ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed standard of our religion; and by them we can satisfy ourselves concerning all such practices as have been made upon it, or such inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those, who take to themselves the name of free-thinkers, would consider well, if they think it is possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove; and then see, if there is any religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the good of mankind, as the true Christian religion reformed among us.

As for those that do truly believe this religion, and have an ingenuous sense and taste of liberty, can they admit a comparison to be made between a religion restrained to a fixed standard, (into which every one is admitted to examine the sense of it in the best method he can,) and that which sets up another uncertain standard, of which they pretend to be the depositaries; I mean, traditions: and pretend further, they are the infallible expounders of it; and that the true standard itself is not to be exposed to common view? that God is to be worshipped in a language not understood; that, instead of a competent provision to those who labour in this work, the head of them is to become a great prince, and may pretend to a power to dispose of kingdoms and states, to pardon sins, and to redeem sinners out of the miseries of a future state; and that the character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to sense and reason, a priest by a few words can work a miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of miracles is nothing; and

who by these means have possessed themselves of an immense wealth and a vast authority?

These are all things of so strange a nature, and so contrary to the genius and design of the Christian religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain credit and success in the world. But when men's eyes have been once opened; when they have shaken off the yoke, and got out of the noose; when the simplicity of true religion has been seen into, and the sweets of liberty have been tasted; it looks like charm and witchcraft, to see so many looking back so tamely on that servitude, under which this nation groaned so heavily for so many ages. They may soon see and know what our happy condition is, in the freedom we enjoy from these impositions; and what their misery is that are condemned to them. It is not enough for such as understand this matter to be contented in their own thoughts with this, that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it, and to resist it: they ought to use all their efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for his blessing upon them. If, after all men's endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the will of God, be silent, and prepare ourselves for all the extremities of suffering and of misery; and if we fall under a persecution, and cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glorify God by bearing our cross patiently. Illegal sufferings are no more to be borne than the violences of a robber: but if the law comes once to be in the hands of those wicked men, who will not only revive the repealed laws against heretics, but, if they can, carry their cruelty up to the height of an inquisition, then we must try by *the faith and patience of the saints to go through fire and through water*, and in all things to be *more than conquerors*.

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves,

or hope to deceive others, have this in their mouths, that popery is not what it was before the reformation; things are much mended, many abuses are detected, and things are not so gross as they were then: and they tell us, that further corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the return of such cruelties as were practised an age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the falsehood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of Luther's breach. It was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the popish side give up, and acknowledge it was a great abuse; so in the countries where the reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffick was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well assured that it is still carried on there in the most barefaced manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a sale is forbid by a bull; but there is a commissary in every place, who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an agreement with the pope, the king has the profits of this bull; and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal, the king and the pope go shares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular account of the managing the bull there: for as there is nothing so impudent, that those men are ashamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please, where the terror of the inquisition is so severe a restraint, that men dare not whisper against any thing that is under that protection.

A notable instance of this has appeared lately, when, in the year 1709, the privateers of Bristol took the Galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these bulls, and 16 reams were in a bale; so that they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three rials, a little more than 20*d.* but to

some at fifty pieces of eight, about 11*l.* of our money; and this to be valued according to the ability of the purchaser, once in two years: all are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the cruising voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by captain Dampier; and one of the bulls was brought me printed, but so that it cannot be read. He was not concerned in casting up the number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with them.

As for any changes that may be made in popery, it is certain, infallibility is their basis; so nothing can be altered where a decision is once made. And as for the treatment of heretics, there has been such a scene of cruelty of late opened in France, and continued there now almost thirty years without intermission, that even in the kingdom where popery has affected to put the best face on things possible, we have seen a cruel course of severity, beyond any thing in history. I saw it in its first and sharpest fury, and can never forget the impression that made on me.

A discovery lately made, shows what the spirit of those at Rome, who manage the concerns of that religion, is, even in a mild reign, such as Odischalci's was; and we may well suppose, that, because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a spirit of persecution. When the abbey of St. Gall was taken in the late war in Switzerland, a manuscript was found, that the court of Propaganda ordered their secretary to prepare for Innocent the Eleventh's own use; which after his death came into the hands of cardinal Sfondrato, who was abbot of St. Gall, and so at his death left this book there. It gives a particular account of all the missions they have in all the parts of the world, and of the rules and instructions given them; with which I hope those worthy persons, in whose hands this valuable book is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the world. The conclusion of it is an address to the pope, in which they lay his duty before him, from two of the words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. The first was, *Feed my*

sheep; which obliged him not only to feed the flock that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those sheep into it that were not of that fold. But the other word was addressed to him by a voice from heaven, when the sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of beasts, of which some were unclean, *Rise, Peter, kill and eat;* to let all see that it is the duty of the great pontiff to rise up with apostolical vigilance, to kill and to extinguish in the infidels their present life, and then to eat them, to consubstantiate their false and brutal doctrine into the verity of our faith. There is an affectation in these last words suitable to the genius of the Italians. This application of these two passages, as containing the duties of a pope, was formerly made by Baronius, in a flattering speech to encourage pope Paul the Fifth in the war he was designing, against the Venetians.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the fears of popery wear out of our thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily prosecuting their designs against us. Popery is popery still, acted by a cruel and persecuting spirit: and with what caution soever they may hide or disown some scandalous practices, where heretics dare look into their proceedings, and lay them open; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their mouth against them; and therefore we see what reason we have to be ever watching, and on our guard against them.

This is the duty of every single Christian among us; but certainly those peers and commoners, whom our constitution has made the trustees and depositaries of our laws and liberties, and of the legal security of our religion, are under a more particular obligation of watching carefully over this sacred trust, for which they must give a severe account in the last day, if they do not guard it against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the fences and outworks of it, or suffer breaches to be made on any of them; if they suffer any part of our legal establishment to be craftily undermined; if they are either

do not invert it to a political piece of craft, by which men's secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a tyranny that reaches to men's souls, as well as to their worldly concerns. In a word, they consider religion in the soul as a secret sense of divine matters, which purifies all men's thoughts, and governs all their words and actions: and in this light they propose it to their people, warning them against all dangers, and against all deceivers of all sorts; watching over them as those that must give an account to the *great Bishop of souls, feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers*, ready to lay down their lives for them, looking for their crown from the *chief Shepherd, when he shall appear.*

May the number of these good and faithful servants increase daily more and more; may their labours be so blessed, that they may see the travail of their soul, and be satisfied: and may many by their means and by their example be so awakened, that they may resist even to blood, striving against sin, and against the man of sin: and may I be of that number, labouring while it is day; and ready, when the night comes, either to lie down and rest in the grave; or, if God calls me to it, to seal that doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty years, with my blood! May his holy will be done, so I may but glorify him in my soul and body, which are his!

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A

COLLECTION

OF

RECORDS, LETTERS,

AND

ORIGINAL PAPERS;

WITH OTHER

INSTRUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE FORMER HISTORY.

A

COLLECTION

OF

RECORDS &c.

Number 1.

The bull of pope Paul the IVth, annulling all the alienations of church lands.

Rescissio alienationum et locationum quorumcunque bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in damnum ecclesiarum, vel non servatis juris solemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum.

Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla secunda Pauli quarti.

SIMILEM rescissionem fecit, Leo X. et postea Jul. III. quas prætermisi tanquam minus necessarias, et eas inseruit Rodoan. in suo Tract. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan. et eandem edidit etiam Pius IV, quo ad bona sedis, et cameræ apostolicæ in const. 104. apostolica. Quamvis prius ipse hanc bullam generaliter reduxisset ad terminos juris communis in const. 11. provida. Sed Pius V. ejusmodi bonorum omnium ecclesiasticorum alienationis rescissionem commisit collegio fabricæ Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in sua const. 98, et si de singulis.

De alienationibus istis, habes supra const. 1. Leonis I. fol. 1. et Pauli II. in const. 5. Ambitiosæ. fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus civitatum et terrarum sedis apostolicæ, ac bonorum quæ subditi papæ habent in ejus statu ecclesiastico, plene dicam in constitut. 1. Innocent. IX. quæ ab hac.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Edita A. D. 1555. Symmachus papa

1. Injunctum nobis desuper, meritis licet imparibus, apo-

PART III.

stolicæ servitutis officium, mentem nostram continua pulsat instantia, ut bona ecclesiastica, quæ cæca hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur, nostræ operationis ministerio, ad jus, et proprietatem eorum quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (sicut nobis innotuit) licet alias fel. re. Symmachus papa prædecessor noster prædium ecclesiæ pro aliqua necessitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura ecclesiæ in usum fructum dari prohibuerit, et lege hujusmodi omnes custodes astringi, ac donatorem, ac censuatorem, et venditorem honorem perdere, et qui præmissis subscriberet, anathema esse, cum eo qui daret, sive reciperet, nisi restituerentur, et quas libet ecclesiasticas personas contradicere, et cum fructibus alienata reposcere posse, hocque non solum in ecclesia Romana conservari, verum etiam in universis per provincias ecclesiis convenire voluerit.

bona ecclesiastica alienari prohibuit. in c. 6. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan.

2. Et piæ mem. Paulus papa 2. etiam prædecessor noster omnium rerum, et bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipsorum dominium transferretur, ac concessionem, hypothecam, locationem, et conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum emphyteuticum, præterquam in casibus a jure permissis, ac de rebus et bonis in emphyteusim ab antiquo concedi solitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et si quis contra hujus posterioris prohibitionis seriem, de bonis et rebus eisdem quicquam alienare presumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, concessio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujusmodi nullius omnino essent roboris, vel momenti, et tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, et bona reciperet, sententiam excommunicationis incurreret, et nihilominus res et bona alienata hujusmodi, ad ecclesias, monasteria, et loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

Paulus 2. alienationes bonorum ecclesiasticorum, et ultra triennium locationes, &c. interdixit in const. cit. in rubr.

3. Nihilominus a nonnullis annis citra diversæ personæ, tam seculares quam ecclesiasticæ, complura castra, terras, oppida, civitates, et loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diversarum cathedralium; etiam metropolitanum et aliarum ecclesiarum, nec non monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum regularium locorum, ac hospitalium, et aliorum piorum locorum, prætextu diversarum alienationum, eis de castris,

Alienationes tamen multæ factæ fuerunt in damnum ecclesiarum, vel non servatis solemnitatibus.

terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis prædictis in evidens damnum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, domorum, hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum, seu alias non servatis solemnitatibus a jure requisitis factarum occupaverint, et occupata detinuerint, detineant de præsenti, ac ex inde factum sit, ut non solum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et domorum prælati, ac hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum hujusmodi rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus et proventibus castrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, et locorum hujusmodi, ecclesias, monasteria, et domus, hospitalia, et alia loca prædicta gubernabant, et illustrabant, ac eorum ministris alimoniam prebebant, notabiliter sint damnificati, verum etiam Rom. pont. qui antea egenis, et miserabilibus personis, præsertim nobilibus ad hanc almam urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde subministrare consueverat, vix se et familiam suam sustentare, ne dum aliis alimenta subministrare possit, in divinæ majestatis offensam, et ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Christi fidelium scandalum.

Ideo hic pont. alias rescindit, et annullat.

4. Nos præmissa conniventibus oculis pertransire nequeuntes, quinimmo cupientes eis, quantum cum Deo possumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, et ex certa nostra scientia, ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas alienationes, et in emphyteusim, seu censum perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, seu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel concessiones, seu permutationes, hypothecas, et obligationes, de quibusvis castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, seu rebus, et juribus, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus ejusdem Romanæ, et quarumcunque cathedralium, etiam metropolitan. et aliarum ecclesiarum, necnon monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum regularium locorum, et quorumvis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, cum cura et sine cura, secularium, et quorumvis ordinum regularium, necnon hospitalium, et aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quoscunque etiam Rom. pont. prædecessores nostros, seu eorum auctoritate, vel mandato,

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camerarios suos, et clericos cameræ apostolicæ præsidentes, ac quosvis ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et domorum prælatos, et beneficiatos, necnon hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum rectores, cujuscunque dignitatis, status gradus, ordinis, et conditionis existentes, etiam si cardinalatus honore pollerent, in damnum ecclesiæ, seu non servatis solemnitatibus a jure requisitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, et contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos, et celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, et quantumvis longa temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possint, ac ipsius Romanæ ecclesiæ favorum, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererenter, presentibus pro expressis habentes, apostolica auctoritate, tenore præsentium rescindimus, irritamus, cassamus, et annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro rescissis, irritis, cassis, et nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi volumus.

Detentores q. debere relaxare bona occupata, et fructus restituere declarat.

5. Ipsosque detentores ad castra, terras, oppida, civitates, et loca occupata, ac bona, res, et jura prædicta Romanæ et cathedralibus, etiam metropolitan. ac aliis ecclesiis, necnon monasteriis, domibus, hospitalibus, et beneficiis, ac regularibus, et piis locis relaxandum, et de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in posterum percipiendis, realiter satisfaciendum teneri, et ad id etiam sententiis, censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibusq; aliis opportunis, juris et facti, remediis cogi, et compelli posse.

Decretum irritans.

6. Sicque in præmissis omnibus et singulis per quoscunque judices, et commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum palatii apostolici auditores, et ipsius Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinales, ac eorum collegium in quavis causa, et instantia, sublata eis, et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, et interpretandi auctoritate, et facultate, judicari, et diffiniri debere ac si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum et inane decernimus.

Clausulæ derogatoriæ.

7. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apo-

stolicis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c. BOOK I.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1555. pridie idus Julii, pont. nostri anno primo. D. P. an. 1. die 12 Julii.

Number 2.

A letter of queen Katherine's to king Henry, upon the defeat of James the IVth, king of Scotland. An original.

SIR,

MY lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your grace within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shall see at length the grete victorye that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence: and for this cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking this batell hath been to your grace and al your realme the grettest honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn al the crown of Fraunce: thankend bee God of it, and I am suer your grace forgeteth not to doe this, which shal be cause to sende you many more suche grete victoryes, as trust he shal doe. My husband, for hastynesse with Rogecrosse, I coude not send your grace the peese of the king of Scotts cote, which John Clyn now bringeth, in this your grace shall see, how I can kepe my promys: sending you for your baners a kings cote. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishe mens harts wold not suffer it: it shuld have been better for hym to have been in peas than to have this rewarde, al that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surroy, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasure in the buryeing of the king of Scotts body, for he hath written to me soo, with the next messanger your grace pleasure may bee herin knowen; and with this I make an ende, prayng God to sende you home shortly: for without this no joye here can be accomplished: and for the same I pray and now go to our lady at Walsingham, that I promised soe longe agoe to see, at Woborne the xvj day of September. Vespasian F. 3. p. 15.

I send your grace herin a bill founde in a Scottyshe

PART III.

mans purse, of suche things as the Frenshe king sent to the said king of Scotts to make warre against you: beseeching you to send Mathewe Heder assone this messanger cometh to bringe me tydings from your grace.

Your humble wife and true servant

Katherine.

Number 3.

A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, with a copy of his book for the pope. An original.

SIR,

THESE shall be onely to advertise your grace that at this presant tyme I do send Mr. Tate vnto your highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the popes holynes, with a memoriall of such other, as be allso to be sent by him with his autentique bulles to all other princes and universities. And albeit sr this booke is right honorable, pleasant and fair, yet I assure your grace, that which Hall hath written (which within 4 days wolbe parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: and shall long contynue for your perpetuall memory whereof your grace shall be more plenarlye informed by the said Mr. Tate. I do send also unto your highnes the choyse of certyne versis to be written in the booke to be sent to the pope of your owne hande: with the subscription of your name to remain *in archivis ecclie ad perpetuam et immortalem vestre magestatis gloriam laudem et memoriam*, by your

most humble chaplain

T. Carlis. Ebor.

per-
ffice.

Number 4.

A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, about foreign news; and concerning Luther's answer to the king's book. An original.

SIR,

AFTER my most humble and lowly recommendations,

these shall be to advertise your highness that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not commen any confirmation either from Rome Venice Italy France or Flanders of the late newes, which was sent from the archeduke to the lady Margaret: whereof by many other letters I advertised your grace. So that nowe the said news be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the braging avaunts of the Spaniards be so accalmed that they not only account such money as they have hitherto layde upon the said news to be thereby lost, but also they dare not nowe aventre fyve four or thre for a hundred. Howbeit sir I do not a lytel marvyle that sinnes the seventh day of the last month in the which it was wrytten that the feate against the Venetians should be doon, there be more letters commen either from France Rome Venyse or Italy. It is bruted in Flanders that Pavy by dedition should be delivered to the said Venetians hands, which if it be true your grace shall shortly here of the Spaniards total extermination out of Italy.

I forbere sir to dispech your letters to the cardinal of Magunce and the duke George of Saxe: because I have not as yet neyther Luthers original letters, which were very necessary to be sent to the popes holiness, nor also any copy thereof, which must nede be sent with your answer to the said cardinal and duke. It may be your pleasure to take orders that the said original letter or copy thereof may be sent unto me with diligence. Other news I have none to signify unto your highness at this present tyme but as other shall occurr I shall not fail to advertise your grace of the same accordingly. At your grace mannor of Hampton court the fourth day of August by your

most humble chapleyn

T. Carlis. Ebor.

To the king's most noble grace, defender of the faith.

PART III.

Number 5.

A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, sent with letters that the king was to write to the emperor. An original.

SIR,

Paper-Office. AND forasmuch as at my commyng to your town of Calais, I suppose I shall be greatly pressed to repair to the emperors presence, which to do without your letters, written with your owne hand I cannot conveniently do, therfor I have divised two short letters, the one to the said emperor, and the other to my lady, beseechyng your grace to take the payne to write and sende the same unto me by this berer; whom I perposely sende at this tyme to your grace, surely to bring the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said letters in redyness, yet I shall never the rather advance my jorney towards hym till such tyme as I shall see opertunite: so that I have takyn some convenient order, with the ambassadors of France for voidyng of all jelousie and suspition: and as I shall proceed with the ambassadors on both parties, and fynde them disposed, so shall I advertise your grace with all diligence from tyme to tyme. And thus Heauen preserue your most noble and roiall astate. At Dover the first day of August by your

most humble chapleyn

T. Carlis. Ebor.

To the king's grace.

Number 6.

A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to the king, concerning the emperor's firmness to him. An original.

SIR,

Paper-Office. THES wrytten with my owne hand shall be onely to advertise your grace, what I do perceyve and be in the emperors owne parson, wich I assure your grace for his age is very wyse and wel understanding hys afferys: rygth colde and temperat in spech, with assury'd maner towchyng hys words, rygth wel and to good purpose when he doth speke:

and undowgttydly by all appearance he shall prove a very wyse man, gretly inclyned to trewgth and observance of his promyse; determynyd not onely fastly holly and entirly for ever, from hens forth to be joyned with your grace, leving all other practyse and intellygens apart: but also in all his afferys to take and folowe your counsell and advise: and nothing to do without the same, and lyke as your grace hath your singuler affyance in me, puttyng the burdeyn of your officys on my shulders, though I knowleg my self farr unmeet for the same; so he ys determyned to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not onely bowndyn him sylf to me apart, twys or thrys by hys feyth and trowth givyn in my hande; but also he hath to every one of your privy counsell in most constant wyse declary'd the same, in suche maner and fashion as we all may perceyve that the same procedyth of his harte, without coloure, dissymulation or fashion. Wherfor, syr, ye have cause to give thanks to Almighty God, wich hath given you grace so to ordyr and commen your afferys, that ye be not only the ruler of thys your realme, wich ys in an angle of the worlde; but also by your wisdome and counsel Spayne, Itally, Almayne, and thes Lowe Cowntyes, wich ys the gretest parte of Crystendome, shall be ruled and governed. And as for France, thys knot nowe beyng assurydly knit, shall not fayle to do as your grace shall commande. What honour thys is to your highnes I dought not but that your grace of your high wysdom can ryght well consyder: giveying most harty thanks to Almighty God for the same accordingly, beseechyng your grace most humbly so to do, whereby thys thyng thus honorably commensyd shall not fayle to your great exultation, to come to the desyryd ende: to the atteynyng whereof I shal empley my poore parson wyt expensyons, substance and blood. From Grevelyng the 28th day of August, with the rude hand of your

most humble chapleyn

T. Carlis. Ebor.

To the kings grace ys owne hands onely.

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Number 7.

The first letter of cardinal Wolsey to king Henry, about his election to the popedom upon Adrian's death. From the originals lent me by sir William Cook.

SIR,

IT may like your highnesse to understand I have this houre received letters from your orator's resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how the xivth day of this instant moneth it pleased Almighty God to call the popes holynesse to his mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon. And in what trayn the matters there were at that time for election of the future pope, your highnesse shall perceive by the letters of your said orator's, which I send unto the same at this time, whereby appeareth that mine absence from thence shall be the onely obstacle (if any be) in the election of me to that dignity; albeit there is no great semblance that the college of cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry factions that be among themselves, for which cause, tho afore God, I repute my self right unmeet and unable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to demure, continue and end my life with your grace, for doing of such service as may be to your honour and wealth of this your realm, than to be X popes; yet neverthelesse, remembring what mind and opinion your grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honour benefit, and advancement of your affaires in time coming: and supposing verily that your highnesse persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions commissions and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Mr. Pace for that purpose: and the same I shall send to your grace by the next post, whom it may like to do farther therein as shall stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform my self accordingly. And to the intent it may appear farther to your grace what mind and determination they be of, towards mine advancement, which as your orators wrote, have now at this present time the principal authority and chief stroke in the election of

the pope, making in manner *triumviratum*, I send unto your highnesse their several letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord that such one may be chosen as may be to the honour of God, the weal of Christ's church, and the benefit of all Christendom. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate: at the More the last day of September, by

Your most humble chaplayn

T. Carlis. Ebor.

Number 8.

The second letter of cardinal Wolsey to the king, about the succession to the popedom.

Sir,

It may like your grace to understand that ensuing the tenor of my letter sent unto your highnesse yesterday, I have devised such commissions and letters to be sent unto your counsellors the bishop of Bath, Mr. Richard Pace, and Mr. Thomas Hanibal, jointly and severally, as at the last time of vacation of the papall dignity were delivered unto the said Mr. Richard Pace; for the preferment either of me, or that failing of the cardinal de Medici unto the same, which letters and commissions if it stand with your gracious pleasure to have that matter set forth, it may like your highnesse of your benign grace and goodness to signe, so to be sent to the court of Rome in such diligence as the importance of the same, with the brevity of the time doth necessarily require. And to th' intent also that the emperor may the more effectually and speedily concurre with your highnesse for the furtherance hereof, albeit I suppose verily that ensuing the conference and communications which he hath had with your grace in that behalf, he hath not prætermitted before this time to advance the same, yet nevertheless for the more acceleration of this furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar letter in the name of your grace to be directed unto his majesty, which if it may please your highnesse to take the payne for to write

PART III. with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your grace and the said emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent, and vertuous purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such effect may ensue thereof, as may be to his pleasure, the contentation of your highnesse, the weal and exaltation of your most royal estate, realm and affaires, and howsoever the matter shall chance, I shall no lesse knowledge my self obliged and bounden farr above any my deserts unto your highnesse, then if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in thought aspire, but to do honor good and service unto your noble person and this your realm. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate, At the More the first day of October, by

Your most humble chaplayn
T. Carlis. Ebor.

Number 9.

The third letter of cardinal Wolsey; giving an account of the election of cardinal Medici to be pope.

Sir,

After my most humble and lowly recommendations, this shall be onely to advertise your highnesse that after great and long altercations and contrariety which hath depended between the cardinall's in the conclave, they at the last fully resolved and determined (the faction of France abandoned) to elect and choose either my lord cardinal de Medici or me, which deliberation coming to the knowledge of the nobles and citizens of Rome, they alledging that the affairs of Italy being in the trayn, as they then were, It should be to the extreme danger thereof to choose a person absent, which could not ne might in time come to put remedy unto the same, made sundry great exclamations at the conclave-window, whereby the cardinall's being in fear not only of the inconvenience like to ensue unto Italy, but also of their own person's, albeit they were in manner principally bent upon

me, yet for eschewing of the said danger and murmur, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, without further difficulty or businesse the xixth day of the last moneth in the morning elected and chose the said cardinal de Medici, who immediately was published pope, and hath taken the name of Clement VII. Of which good and fortunate new's, sir, your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God: forasmuch as not onely he is a perfect and faithful friend to the same, but that also much the rather by your means he hath attained to this dignity. And for my part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my person, knowing his excellent qualitys, most meet for the same; and how great and sure a friend your grace and the emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a father, by whose assumption unto that dignity, not only your and the said emperors affair's, but also of all Christendom shall undoubtedly come to much better and more prosperous perfection: like as upon the first knowledge thereof the Frenchmen be clearly departed from Milan, and passed a river towards France called Ticino, trusting that the next new's which shall come from thence shall be of their arrival at home, wherin as I shall have further knowledge, so I shall advertise your highnesse thereof accordingly, And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At my poor house besides Westminster the vith day of December, by

Your most humble chapleyn
T. Carlis. Ebor.

Number 10.

A remarkable passage in sir T. More's Utopia, left out in the latter editions.

Cæterum theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in sacerdotes ac monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut jam ipse quoque cæperit ludere, homo alioqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, parasitus, hoc jam

PART III.

curatum est. Nam cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis, quum statueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. Nam vos estis errones maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum conjectis in cardinalem oculis, eum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est, atque incanduit, ut nec a conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, et filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è scriptura sacra. Jam scurra serio scurrari cæpit. Et erat planè in sua palæstra. Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor, inquit, furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini et nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater a cardinale suaviter, ut suos affectus compesceret. Non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zela, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum Dei, zelum calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto et ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem sapientius nam Solomon ipse sapientissimus dicit: responde stulto secundum stultitiam ejus, sicut ego nunc facio, et demonstro ei foveam in quam cadet, nisi bene præcaveat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelum calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? et etiam habemus bullam papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos, sunt excommunicati.

Number 11.

A letter of the pope's upon his captivity, to cardinal Wolsey. An original.

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. 9.

DILECTE fili noster calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne

explicari ne queat tuæ circumspectioni per dilectum filium equitem Castalium referretur qui interfuit ipse omnibus, et filium nobis amantem exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendat. Nos in tanto constituti dolore et luctu unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ circumspectionis apud illum serenissimum regem auctoritate et ipsius regis erga nos et S. ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestra consuetudine et bonitate S. ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis: sicut ex eodem equite atque ex nuntio nostro omni alio presidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget. Datum in arce S. Angeli sexta Junii 1527.

BOOK I.

J.

Number 12.

A part of cardinal Wolsey's letter to the king concerning his marriage. Taken from the original.

WE dayly and howerly musing and thinking on your gracs gret and secrete affayre, and howe the same may cume to good effecte and desired ende, aswel for the deliverance of your grace out of the thrauld pensif and dolorous lif that the same is in, as for the continuance of your helth and the suertie of your realme and succession, considering also that the popes consent, or his holines deteyned in captivite, the auctorite of the cardinalls nowe to be convoked into France equivalent thereunto, must concurre for approbation of such processe as I shal make in that behaulf; and that if the quene shal fortune, which it is to be supposed she will doe, eyther appele or utterly decline from my jurisdiction (one of the said auctorites is also necessaryly requisite) I have noon other thought ne studye but howe in avaylable maner the same may be attayned. And after long discussion and debating with my self, I finally am reduced and resolved to two points: the oon is that the poopes consent cannot be obteyned and had in this case, oonles his delyveraunce out of captivite be first procured: the other is that the cardinalls canne nothing doe in this behalfe, oonless there be by them

BOOK II.

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. 9. P. 146.

PART III.

consultation and order taken, what shall be doon *in administratione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate summi pontificis*.

As touching the restitution of the pope to libertie the state of the present affaires considred the most prompte sure and redy waye is, by conclusion of the peace betwixt the emperor and the French king: for the avancement and setting forward whereof I shall put my self in extreme devour, and by al possible meanes induce and persuade the said French king to strayne himself and condescende to asmuch of the emperours demands as may stande with reason and suertie of his and your gracs affayres; moving him further, that forasmuch as the emperour taketh your highnes as a mediator making fayre demonstration in words, that he wil at your contemplation and arbitre, not oonly declare the botom of his mynde concerning his demaund, but also remitte and relent in the same, he wil be contented that your grace forbering the intimacion of hostilite maye in the managing of the said peace and inducyng the emperour to reasonable conditions, be so taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary untyl such tyme as the conducying of the said peace shalbe clerely desperate: whereby if the said French king canne be induced thereunto, maye in the meane season use the benefit of their entercourse in the emperours Lowe-Countries: not omitting nevertheles for the tyme of solliciting the said peace, the diligent zeal and effectual execution of the sworde by monseur de Lautrek in the parties of Italy: wherby your gracs said mediation shal be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effecte, wherupon might ensue the popes delyverance, by whose auctorite and consent your gracs affayre shuld take most sure honourable effectual and substancial ende, and who I doubte not considering your gracs gratitude, wold facilly be induced to doe all things therin that might be to your graces good satisfaction and purpose, thenne and in that case there is noone other remedy but the convocation of the said cardinalls; who as I am enformed

will not nor canne conveniently convene in any other place but at Avinion, where the administration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been in semblable cases heretofore exercised. To the which place if the said cardinalls canne be induced to cume, your highnes being soo contented, I purpose also to repare, not sparing any labour travayl or payne in my body chargs or expense, to doe service unto your grace in that behalfe; according to my most bounden dutie and harty desyre, there to consulte and devise with them for the governance and administration of the auctorite of the church during the said captivity: which shall be a good grounde and fundament for the effectual execution of your gracs secrete affayre.

And for asmuch as thus reparing to Avinion I shall be nere to the emperours confines, and within an hundred myles of Perpinian which is a commodious and convenient place to commen and treate with the emperors personne, I think in my poor opinion that the conducing of peace by your graces mediation not being desperate, nor intimation of hostilite made on your behalfe, it should much conferre aswell for the delyverance of the poope, as for concluding of the peace between the French king and the emperor, if his majestie canne be soe contented that a meating might be betwen him, my lady the French kinges modre, and me at the said Perpinian; to the which———

This is all in the copy written in cardinal Wolsey's hand.

Number 13.

A letter written by king Henry VIII. to cardinal Wolsey, recalling him home.

Among S. W. Cook's papers.

My lord this shall be to thank you of your great paines and travaile which you have sustained since your departure hence, for our busynesse and causes: wherin you have done to us no little honour, pleasure and profitt, and to our realm in infinite goodnesse; which service cannot be by a kind master forgotten, of which fault I trust I shall never be accused, specially to youward which so laboriously do serve me.

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Furthermore because as yet since the popes captivity we never sent to salute him, nor have no man resident there to advertize us of the affaires there; and also lest the queene should prevent us by the emperour's means in our great matter; we think it meet to send this bearer thither, of whose truth and sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him such instructions and commissions as shall be for our affair's there requesite: and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our affair's there may have some stay. No more at this time, but that greatly I desire your return home, for here we have great lack of you, and that you give full credence to my secretary this bearer; written with the hand of your loving sovereign lord and friend

HENRY R.

Number 14.

A letter from Rome by Gardiner to king Henry, setting forth the pope's artifices. An original.

Paper-Office.

PLEASETH it your majestie to be advertised that endevoring our selfs to the best of our powers al joyntely and I my self aparte applying al my poore wit and lernyng to atteyne at the popes hande sum parte of the accomplyshement of your highnes desires, finally have nothing prevayled: but now see it called in question whether the auctorite geven to the legats there shulde be revoked or noe. The circumstaunce wherof and what hath been doon and said therin, your highnes shall understande by our commen letters which we have writen to my lorde legats grace, but to saye as I conjecture I think that matier was moved but for a stop of our other suts, and that it is not ernestely ment: and albeit there is mencion of the queen in that matier as thowe she should have a procter for the same, yet the pope two dayes before, in an other comunication said that the emperour had advertised him, how the queen wolde do nothing in this matier, in saying nor speaking to any man for the let delaye or hindrance of this matier, but as your highnes shal wil and command her to doe: and that the emperour said,

he would therfore more earnestly looke unto the cause himself. I marveled much when the pope said this, and me thought he spoke it as though he wolde we shuld signifie the same unto your highnes, and I noted it the more, for because your highness had commanded me to enquire out who shuld be here the queens proctor: and it semed spoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt therof. But whither the pope hath this writen out of Spayne or out of Englande, I wot not what to saye. But it seemed strange to us to rede in cardinal Campegnis's letters, that neyther he nor Campanus, made on the pope's behalf, any promyse to your highnes, but only in general terms, considering that upon these special terms *de plenitudine potestatis*, and trust that the pope wolde use that in your highnes cause, I was sent hither, like as in my instructions is conteyned: which failing, your highness I doubt not right well remembreth how master Wolman, Mr. Bell, and I showed your highnes such things as wer to be required, not to be impetrable: my trust is that your highnes wil accept in good part my true harte and good will, which according to my most bounden duty shall never want, but be holly applyed where your highnes shall command without respeck or regard of any other lyving creature, being very sory to see your highnes cause handled in this sorte. But your highnes hath so much vertue in you, wherof God is to be thanked, as may suffice to converte other mens faults into goodness, to your highnes gret glory, renowne, and immortal fame: which is all that canne be said after my poor witt herin, considering that your highnes hath been not well handled, nor according to your merits by the pope, or sum other: it becometh not me to arrecte the blame certaynly to any man. And the pope shewith cardinal Campegnis letters for his discharge, which thing your highnes shall much better judge and consider by your high wisdom thenne I canne write, most humbly desiring your highnes that being in these termes with the popes holyness, we may know of your highness what to say further.

As touching the bulles to be here impetracte for your

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highness, I have spoken with the popes holynes, and he is content in all points to grant as I required him, saving in that matier *de animadversione in clericos*, to the which he wolde not absolutely assent, but said he wold with the cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* divise that shuld be to your highnes satisfaction: wishing then that he might grante as easely our other peticions, which he knoweth your highnes to have more to harte, as he may these, adding by and by that he would for the welth of Christendom, the queen wer in her grave: and as he thought the emperour wolde be thereof most glad of al: saying allso that he thought like as the emperour hath destroyed the temperaltis of the church, soe shall she be the cause of the destruction of the spiritualties. Making exclamation of his misfortune in whose personne these two adversites shuld chaunce, and upon the occasion of that famylie. Whenne we speak with him we think we shuld have all things, and in the ende his counsail denyeth all: by reason the cardinall *Sanctorum Quatuor* hath been sick, and is every other day sikely, and for the most parte when the cardinall is hol the pope is sike, we have yet no expedition of the said bulles, trusting that your highnes will have consideration of these letts, accordingly praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royall estate. From Rome the 4th daye of Maye,

Your highnes most humble
subject servant and dayly orator,
Steven Gardyner.

Number 15.

The pope's promise in the king's affair.

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. 12.

Cum nos Clemens domina providentia illius nominis papa septimus modernus justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ rex illustris fidei defensor et dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus matrimonii nullitate tanquam notorium publicum et famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi

Hispaniarum regis catholici filia nulliter et de facto contraxisse et consumasse affirmati leges tam dominas quam per humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebat. Ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios Thomam et Laurentium miseratione divina sancta Ceciliæ et sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim respective titulorum nostri et sedis aplicæ in regno Angliæ predicto legatos de latere commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, quam pro hic inserta et expressa haberi volumus et habemus; emiserimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore presentium effectualiter et plenissime conjunctim et divisim committimus et deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico regi in justicia illa quam celerime administranda propensionem certius et clarius attestemur securioremque reddamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis non una forte ætate explicabili, denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus et factus fiendusve aut habendus validus et firmus ac inconcussus maneat, promittimus et in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces requisitionem instantiam merove motu aut aliter, ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas; aut rescripta aliave quecunque per modum vel justitiæ vel gratiæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa predicta commissionum commissionisve predictæ processusve per hujusmodum deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve predictæ habitus et factus habendive aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quovismodo prejudicialia quacunque racione contineant atque ut dictarum commissionum vel commissionis processus vero hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem et effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illave aut eorum aliqua revocentur, aut eiisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus: sed datas a nobis eiisdem deputatis nostris commissiones et commissionum hujusmodi processum quæ per hujusmodum deputatos nostros

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juxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve predictæ habitum et factum, habendum qua et fiendum sua plenissima vi auctoritatum robore et efficacia realiter et cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabemus, tenebimus et defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas brevia, bullas, aut rescripta aliave quæ dictarum commissionum commissionisve hujusmodi processusve antedicti executionem aut ejusdem virtute decreta, deffinita, et pronunciatum per eosdem deputatos nostros, confirmare possint aut valent absque mora recusatione, difficultate, quacumque de tempore in tempus realiter et cum effectu valida et efficacia, dabimus et concedemus. Et insuper promittimus et in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quesito colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus: sed ea omnia et singula firma valida inconcussa et inviolabilia patiemur et permittemus. Ac insuper si (quod absit) aliquid contra premissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso irrito inani et vacuo omnino haberi volumus et habemus: ac nunc prout ex tunc, et extunc pro nunc, cassamus, annullamus et reprobamus, nullius quæ roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel esse debere pronunciamus decrevimus et declaramus. Datum Viterbie die xxiii July millessimo quingentissimo vigessimo octavo pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Ita est Clemens papa septimus antedictus.

Number 16.

Some account of the proceedings of the university, in the case of the divorce, from Dr. Buckmaster's book MS. C.C.C.

Quod hodie studia vestra interpellaverim, doctissimi senatores, ac viri gravissimi, voluntas regia in causa est, cui pro insigni bonitate sua, ac summo quem erga nos et studia

nostra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forsitan negotiis, in quibus vestras prudentias consulere decrevit sua majestas, visum est placuitque literis suis vos omnes salutare, quas si diligenter auscultare velitis, à me statim perlegente audietis.

To our trusty and well-beloved the vicechancellour, doctors, and other regents and non-regents of our universitie of Cambridge.

By the kyng.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we grete you well. And wheras in the matter of matrimony between us and the quene, uppon consultation had with the gretest clerks of Christendom, as well withoute this our realme, as within the same, thei have in a grete nombre affermed unto us in writing, and therunto subscribed their names, that, *Ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis sit prohibitum jure divino et naturali*, which is the chefe and principall point in our cause. We therefore desirouse to knowe and understand your myndes and opynyons in that behalf, and nothinge dowtinge, but like as ye have always founde us to you and that our universitie, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for your wealth and benefite, whan ye have required the same, ye will now likewise not omytt to doo any thyng wherby ye shulde mynistre unto us gratuite and pleasour, and specially in declaration of the truth, in a cause so near touching us your prince and soveraine lorde, our soule, the wealth also and benefite of this our realm, have sent hither purely for that our purpose, our trusty and right well-beloved clerks and counsaillors, mayster doctor Gardyner our secretary, and mayster Fox, who shall on our behaulf further open and declare unto you the circumstances of the premiss: wherfore we will and require you, not oonly to gyve ferme credence unto them, but also to advertise us by the same under the comen seale of that out universitie of such oppynion in the proposition afore sayd, as shall be ther concluded, and by the consent of lerned men shall be agreed upon. In doing wherof, ye shall deserve our especiall thanks, and gyve us

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cause to encrease our favour towards you, as we shall not faile to do accordyngly. Yeven under our signet at York's place the 16th daye of February.

Accepistis modo quod postulat à vobis regia majestas, intelligitis quæ sit ejusdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, nisi ut veritas cujusdam conclusionis agnoscatur atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut sua refert plurimum scire, ita et nos pro studio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in principem nostrum alioque clementissimum, benignissimum et de nobis omnibus ac achademia nostra optime meritum, omne studium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter postulaverit, id impetreta nobis. Si de veritate quæstio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius investigaretur, quam inter ipsos veritatis professores, si veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipsa achademia, ubi et bona semper vigent studia, solida judicia, ac mentes ab omni ambitione sunt aliena. Verum ego prudentias vestras prolixiori oratione non detinebo, vobis ac vestro judicio ista relinquam. Est cuique suus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hac causa conscientia sua, quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum spectat, perficiam sedulo, nempe ut primi consulantur seniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent faciendum, deinde et vestras scrutabitur sententias atque suffragia postulabimus.

Dixi.

The forme of the grace that was axed and graunted in the accomplisment of the kyng's requeste.

Placet vobis ut vicecancellarius, doctores, Salcot, Watson, Reps, Thomson de collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boston, et magistri, Mydelton, Heynes, Mylsente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon, Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxtell, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, et Bayne, una cum procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem et authoritatem nomine totius universitatis, respondendi literis regiæ majestatis in hac congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius universi-

tatis deffiniendi et determinandi quæstionem in eisdem literis propositam: ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum presentium inter se decreverint respondendum dictis literis, et deffinierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita in eisdem, habeatur et reputetur pro responsione, deffinitione et determinatione totius universitatis. Et quod liceat vicecancellario, procuratoribus, scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium responsione, deffinitione, et determinatione, concipiendis, sigillum commune universitatis apponere: sic quod publice disputetur, et antea legantur coram universitate absque ulteriori gratia, desuper obtinenda aut petenda.

9. *die Martii.*

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) clariss. viri ac senatores gravissimi, ut nuper excellentissimi principis nostri literas acceperitis, quibus cum super quadam quæstione inter illum ac illustrissimam reginam controversâ, nostram sententiam desideraret, flagitaret impense, nos (ut nos decuit) tanti principis petitioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (presertim seniorum) suffragiis convenimus sententiam, ut selectis quibusdam sacræ theologiæ tum professoribus tum bacchalauriis ac aliis magistris, tantam quæstionem examinandi, determinandi, ac deffiniendi, nomine totius universitatis provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos et ego minimus à vobis selectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni consultatione, deliberatione, diligentiâ, ac sacræ scripturæ locorum conferentiâ, tum etiam interpretum, denique publicâ disputatione præmissis, tandem ad illius quæstionis determinationem ac diffinitionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus est vestrum (quibus ea provincia commissa est) qui aut ambigere aut refragari possit: ita et vobis omnibus (quod et gratia à vobis concessa postulat) eandem compertam esse volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod vestra causa, vestrisque nominibus, à fratribus vestris, per ingentes labores, ac summam industriam exantlatum est. Determinatio in hiis scriptis comprehensa sic habet.

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Nos universitas studentium academiæ Cantabrigiensis, omnibus infra scripta lecturis auditurisve salutem. Cum occasione causæ matrimonialis, inter invictissimum et potentissimum principem et dominum nostrum Henricum octavum Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæque regem, fidei defensorem, ac dominum Hiberniæ, et illustrissimam dominam Catharinam reginam controversæ, de illa quæstione nostra rogaretur sententia: videlicet, An sit jure divino et naturali prohibitum, ne frater ducat in uxorem relictam fratris mortui sine liberis? Nos de ea re deliberaturi more solito convenientes; atque communicatis consiliis, matura consultatione tractantes quomodo, quo ordine ad investigationem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem suffragiis, selectis quibusdam ex doctissimis sacræ theologiæ professoribus, bachalauriis, ac aliis magistris ea cura demandata, ut scrutatis diligentissime sacræ scripturæ locis, illisque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipsi dictæ quæstioni respondendum putarent. Quoniam auditis, perpensis, ac post publicam super dicta quæstione disputationem matura deliberatione discussis hiis, quæ in quæstione prædicta alterutram partem statuere et convellere possint; illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora, etiam et certiora, ac genuinum et syncerum sacræ scripturæ intellectum præ se ferentia, interpretum etiam sententiis magis consona visa sunt, quæ confirmant et probant, jure divino et naturali prohibitum esse, ne frater uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis accipiat in conjugem: illis igitur persuasi, et in unam opinionem convenientes, ad quæstionem prædictam ita respondendum decrevimus, et in hiis scriptis, nomine totius universitatis respondemus, ac pro conclusione nobis solidissimis rationibus et validissimis argumentis comprobata affirmamus, quod ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per carnalem copulam, nobis Christianis hodie est prohibitum jure divino ac naturali. Atque in fidem et testimonium hujusmodi nostræ responsionis et affirmationis, hiis literis sigillum nostrum commune curavimus apponi. Dat. congregatione nostra Cantabrigiæ, die nono Martii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vi-

cesimo nono. Dominica 2. Quadragesimæ anno Domini 1529. in Wyndesor.

Delivered by me W. B. vicechancellour in the chambre of presence, *post vesperas*.

Your universitie of Cambridge have them most humbly commended unto your grace, and here thei have sent unto your highness their letters. Than kisse them and so deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your request expressed in your letters dyrected unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. Fox your most wyse counsaillers in th' accomplishing of the same, they have don their devors, and here in writing under their comon seale, thei have sent unto your grace ther sentence, desyring the same to accept, and to take it in parte and good worthe. And if thei had any thing ellys to gratify your grace wythall, their lettres and their studies, your highness shuld be suer therof to the uttermost of their powers.

MS. C. C. C. Given to the college by Dr. Jegon master.

To the right worshipfull master doctor Edmonds, vicar of Alborne in Wiltshire.

My duty remembred, I hartily commend me unto you, and I let you understand, that *Dominica Secunda* at afternoon, I came to Wyndsor, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary, and also with Mr. Provost, and so after even-song, I delivered our letters in the chamber of presence, all the court beholding. The king with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the letters of determination, notwithstanding that I did there also deliver them, with a proposition. His highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our wisedomes and good conveyance in the matter, with the great quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his hands for our university, according unto that, that Mr. Secretary

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did express unto us, &c. So he departed. But by and by, he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and in so praising sayd on this wise, This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vicechancellour yonder. Yon same, sayd he unto the duke of Norfolk, is Mr. Vicechancellour of Cambridge, and so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the said duke, which after the king's departure came unto me, and wellcomed me, saying amongst other things, that the king would speak with me on the next day; and here is the first act. On the next day, I waited untill it was dinner time; and so at the last Dr. Butt came unto me, and brought a reward, twenty nobles for me, and five marks for the younger procter, which was with me; saying that I should take that for a resolute answere, and that I might depart from the court, when I would. Then came Mr. Provost, and when I had shewed him of the answere, he sayd, I should speak with the king at after dinner for all that, and so brought me into a privy place, where as he would have me to wait at after dinner. I came thither and he both, and by one of the clock, the king entred in. It was in a gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: the king there talked with us, untill six of the clock. I assure you, he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, that this was not also determined, *An papa possit dispensare*, &c. I made the best, and confirmed the same that they had shewed his grace before, and how it would never have been so obtained. He opened his minde, saying, that he would have it determined at after Ester, and of the same was counsailed a while.

I pray you therefore study for us, for our business is not yet at an end, *An papa potest dispensare cum jure divino*, &c. Much other communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his highness departed, casting a little holy water of the court: and I shortly after toke my leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, with whom I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, and on the morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, and being glad that I was out of the court, where many men, as I did both

hear and perceive, did wonder at me. And here shall be an end for this time of this fable. BOOK II.

All the world almost crieth out of Cambridge for this act, and specially on me, but I must bear it as well as I may. I have lost a benefice by it, which I should have had within these ten dayes. For there hath one falne in Mr. Throckmorton's gift, which he hath faithfully promised unto me many a time, but now his mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the court at after Ester, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more——Mr. Latymer preacheth still, *Quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt.* I am informed, that Oxford hath now elected certain persons to determine the king's question. I hear say also, that Mr. Provost was there in great jeopardy. Other tidings I have none at this time, but that all the company be in good health, and heartily saluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At Cambridge, *in crastino Dominic. Palmarum.*

Your own to his power,
William Buckmaster.

The king willed me to send unto you, and to give you word of his pleasure in the said question.

MS. C. C. C. Miscellan. P.

Number 17.

Three letters written by K. Henry to the university of Oxford, for their opinion in the cause of his marriage.

Letter I. *By the king.*

Trusty and well beloved subjects we greet you well. And whereas we have for an high and weighty cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well learn'd men within our realm and without, for certaine considerations our conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the minds of you amongst you in our university Ex MS. D. Kennet.

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of Oxenford, which be erudite in the faculty of divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what conformity ye be with the others, which marvelously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: not doubting but that ye for the allegiance and fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any abuse declare your minds and conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and sinister opinions of your own several minds, not giving credence to misreports and sinister opinions or perswasions, considering we be your soveraigne leige lord, totally giving your true mind and affection to the true overture of divine learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just learning in the said cause, like as ye will abide by; wherin ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your leige lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our university there so good and gracious a soveraigne lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well imploi'd to your well fortune to come; in case you do not uprightly according to divine learning hand your selves herein, ye may be assured, that we not without great cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnaturall misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your quietness and ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to duty to God and your prince, you sett apart all untrue and sinister informations, and accommodate your selves to the meer truth as it becommeth true subjects to do; assuring you that those that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by: trusting that now you know our mind and pleasure, we shall see such conformitie among you, that we shall hereof take great consolation and comfort, to the great allegement of our conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect credence to my lord of Lincolne our confessour in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the authen-

tick letters full answere and resolution, which your duty's well remembred, we doubt not but that it shall be our high contentation and pleasure. Given under, &c. BOOK II.

Letter II. *By the king.*

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little marvell and discontentation, that a great part of the youth of that our university with contentious factions and manner, daily combineing together, neither regarding their duty to us their soveraigne lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the vertuous, wise, sage, and profound learned men of that university, wilfully to stick upon the opinion to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and batchelors of divinity, for the determination of our question; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a number of right small learning in regard to the other, should be join'd with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause: which as we think should be no small dishonour to our university there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same, assureing you that this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what ground and occasion they being our meere subjects, should shewe themselves more unkind and wilfull in this matter, than all other universities, both in this and all other regions do. Finally, we trusting in the dexterity and wisdome of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that university, be in perfect hope, that ye will conduce and frame the said young persons unto good order and conformity, as it becommeth you to do. Wherefore we be desirous to hear with incontinent diligence, and doubt you not we shall regard the demeanour of every one of the university, according to their merits and deserts. And if the youth of the university will play masteries, as they begin to do, we doubt not but that they shall well

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perceive, that *non est bonum irritare crabrones.* Given under, &c.

Letter III.

To our trusty and well-beloved, the commissary-regents, and non-regents of our university of Oxon.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas by sundry our letters, sent and delivered at sundry times by the hands of our counsellors unto you, with credence declared unto you by the same, we have only required and made instance unto you, for the obtaining of that, which at the least desire of any Christian man ye be bound and oblig'd to do; that is to say, to declare and shew your opinions and sentence in such a doubt, as upon the dissolution and determination whereof, dependeth the tranquility, repose, and quiet of our conscience, we cannot a litle marvell that you neither having respect to our estate, being your prince and soveraigne lord; nor yet remembring such gratuites and benefits as we have always shew'd unto you, as well to the particular wealth of diverse as to the common body of that our university, without any correspondency shew'd on their behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and deferr'd not only to send us your determination and resolution to our demand and question, but also refused to take order, or enter into any way or meane, whereby you might declare or shew unto us, that ye be of mind and determination to endeavour your selfe for an accomplishment of our desire in that behalfe. And so much the more marvell we at this your manner of delayes, that our university of Cambridge hath within far shorter time not only agreed upon the fashion and manner to make answere unto us effectually, and with diligence following the same; but hath also 8 days since sent unto us their answere under common seale, plainly determining, *Prohibitionem esse divini et naturalis juris, nè frater uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat uxorem.* For the searching of the truth in which matter, if ye had before this time con-

descended upon the manner and fashion convenient in that behalf, we could then have taken any delay afterward, upon any other cold pretence made, but in good part: whereas now the refuseing to agree upon any such order, and denying to do that which should be but the entrie into the matter for declaration of your forwardness, good will and diligence: we can't otherwise think of you, but that you neither behave your selves towards us, as our merits towards you have deserved, as good subjects to a kind prince and sovereigne lord; as by the learning ye professe, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our mind, and yet nevertheless considering you to be there by our authority and grant, as a body politique, in the ruleing whereof in things to be done in the name of the whole, the number of the private suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to shewe our displeasure, whereof we have so great cause ministred unto us, unto the whole in general; whereas the fault perchance consisteth and remaineth but in light and willfull heads; for the tender consideration we bear to learned men, and the great desire we have to nourish, maintaine, and favour those that are good; have thought convenient to send unto you these letters by our trusty and right well-beloved clarke and counseller, Mr. Edwarde Fox; trusting verily that ye which be heads and rulers there, well considering and weighing your dutyes in the accomplishment of our request, for the searching the truth in such a cause, as touching your prince and soveraigne lord, our soul, and the wealth of this our realme: and your great lack and blame with just cause of high displeasure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and slack doing thereof, will so order and accomodate the fashion, and passing such things as should proceed from that university in this case, as the number of the private suffrages given without reason, prevaile not against the heads, rulers, said sage fathers, to the detriment, hindrance, and inconvenience of the whole. But so to examine, try, and weigh the opinions and minds of the multitude, as the importance of the matter doth require: wherein we doubt not but your body

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is established in such wise, that there be left waies and means to the heads and rulers how to eschew and avoid such inconveniences, when they shall chance: as we trust ye that be heads and rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and so by your diligence to be shew'd hereafter, to redeem the errors and delaies past. The favour we beare to the maintenance of learning, we would be very glad, as our said well-beloved councellour can shew unto you on our behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence: given under our signet at our castle of Windsor.

Number 18.

Copie of the king's letters to the bishop of Rome.

Ex MSS. Rymeri.

Etsi videamus vel temporum vel hominum iniquitate fieri, ut postulata nostra, quantumvis equa ac naturali ratione subnixa, parum expediantur, nihil etiam proficere, in causa nostra justissima, charissimi fratris et consanguinei ac perpetui confederati nostri, Christianissimi regis amicissimas preces; nobilium autem nostrorum intercessionem non modo contemni, sed etiam derideri, quod eos equo animo non laturos existimamus. Denique re ipsa nihil præstari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos sublevet; hæc omnia, licet apertius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex oratoribus nostris quos apud vos habemus, tum à vestro isthic oratore cognoscamus; est tamen spei opinionisque nostræ tam diversus exitus ut subinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoria repetentibus omnes causæ nostræ circumstantias, porro autem singula conferentibus que precesserunt queque secuta sunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque responsorum vestræ sanctit. in hac causa nostra quam alioqui certam et firmam, fide dignorum oratorum et vestrorum et nostrorum relatio constituit, ipsa ratio communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certissima tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus sanct. vest. fecisse que fecisse cognoscimus quum ea facere non debuisse intelligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius precesserunt, quod nuperime efflagi-

tavimus de dandis in Anglia judicibus, quis credidisset sanc- BOOK
titatem vestram negare voluisse; longe aliter sperabamus II.
nos. Aliter certe credidit Christianissimus rex qui nobiscum una id petiit: aliter crediderunt sui consiliarii, quorum suasu id fecit: secus crediderunt nobiles nostri omnes, et omnes omnium ordinum primi viri. Qui ad nostra postulata suas literas adjunxerunt, et quem non ad id adigerit ratio ut crederet sanctitatem vestram facturam Dei respectu quod debuisset, et in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuisset: debuisset certe permittere sacrosanctis olim consiliis id definientibus, ut controversia illic terminetur ubi primum nata est. Illic enim judices et propius vident et cernunt certius: ut gloriosissimo martyri Cypriano placuit. Et Divus Barnardus ad Eugenium scribit bene facis tu quod appellationum negato suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoscentes et qui noscere citius possunt: ubi enim certior et facilior notio, ibi decisio tutior et expeditior esse potest: potuisset autem sanctitas vestra nam olim se potuisse ostendit cum judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos postea revocavit. Quod si debuisset quidem quod negari non poterit, et potuisset etiam ut quidem factis antea suis de consilio suorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate siquidem ut deberet ipsam liberam rectam et certam teneat sanctitas vestra, non ad aliena arbitria accomodatam ac humanis respectibus inservientem quod res ita se habet ut habet fuerunt aliquando vices nostri, nunc ut videmus aliorum sunt: non in lege Domini, sed in rerum vicissitudine meditandum est, ut de vestræ sanctitatis manu aliquod auxilii expectemus, sed auxilium nostrum à Domino certum est, et in Domino sperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conspectu omnium, acta probant voluntatem sanctitatis vestræ totam Cæsari addictam esse: illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, si quid rogamus, quod officii vestri esset, prima ratio est, ut ne quid Cæsari displiceat. Quem etiamsi amicum habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non possumus, ita in hac causa nostra iniquiorem nobis non sine causa refugere debemus et recte gravissimam nobis injuriam factam et vestro officio in-

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dignissimum dedecus admissum videmus, ut cum Cæsar se in hac causa interposuerit, etiam cum se opposuerit definitioni appellatione interposita, cum se partem publice professus sit, vestra sanctitas tamen eundem semper consultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet et statuat quodcunque temporis rationi oportunum videatur. Et si quid ab adverso dicatur statim creditur: si quid nos proposuerimus omnino rejicitur, scilicet creditur nunc reginæ regnum nostrum Angliæ non esse tutum locum in quo causa judicetur: et creditur unicæ allegationi sine testibus contra tam preclara et aperta documenta quæ nos in diversum edidimus, non verbis et assertionibus que fingi possunt, sed rebus ipsis et factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quanta cum libertate atque impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorsimus, quam que animo videretur suo: diversum à nobis sentientes etiam in cæteris, favore et prosequimur et prosecuti sumus. Et tamen, post tot argumenta securitatis, et cum nullum signum adhuc apparuerit cur timere quisquam à nobis merito deberet, credit vestra sanctitas nudam reginæ allegationem in diversum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter essemus laturi quod ageretur et quanta cum equanimitate passuri quod fieret, si quid contra nos fieret. Missi sunt ad nos judices in Angliam, à sanctitate vestra, nunc vero cum id amplius factitari non potest, non modo dubitatur sed creditur diversum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos regnum nostrum locum esse tutum in quo causa nostra judicetur viz. cum hactenus summam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiserimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diversum, et si quas probationes attulerit, vanæ sint oportet et falsæ nec verisimiles. Quæ quum ita sint, aliud tamen cur judices non dederit, non respondit sanctitas vestra, nisi quod regina allegavit locum suspectum. Et quis crederet sanctitatem vestram ista nobis respondisse, nec aliud dixisse ne judices daret in partibus: certe referentium credulitatem exigit res vero ipsa negat. Si sequamur quod antea diximus eam persuasionem ut credamus

sanctitatem vestram voluntatem suam ita Cæsari addixisse, ut non ex animi vestri summa prudentia præditi sententia sed ex Cæsaris affectu respondere contendat. Que res facit ut iterum atque iterum repetitis literis sanctitatem vestram adeamus, expressuri nimirum si quid aliud moverit sanctitatem vestram cur nostris ultimis desideriis non annuerit cupidi etiam literis vestris intelligere cui causæ potissimum, denegando innixa sit. Sic enim expressius et certius mentes invicem et animi nostri sententias communicabimus: Si in causis hiisce gravioribus et postulata et responsa scriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis literis a sanctitate vestra ut causam nostram in Anglia datis judicibus, illis quos inter oratores tanquam indifferentes et equissimos nominabimus, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De judicibus autem nullam ut accipimus facit difficultatem sanctitas vestra, tantum de loco questio fuit, quum sacra consilia jam definierunt et Sanctus etiam Cyprianus et Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientissimum affirmant, ut in eo loco causa terminetur ubi primum nata est. Durum certe esset probare nudam reginæ allegationem de loco suspecto, contra ea argumenta quæ nos ostendimus. Et facile videt prudentia vestra non levem nobis notam inuri, ut ea infamia aspergamur, quasi in causa tanti sacramenti suspecti haberemur, ne eam ex equo et bono divinarum legum præscripto intra regni nostri limitem terminari pateremur: suspitio talis crimen esset etiam in infimo homuncione famosum, in principe viro tanto magis augetur facinoris atrocitas, quanto sublimius consurgit fastigium dignitatis: nec possumus certe pati, nedum equanimiter ferre, ut de suspitione tam gravi immerito accusemur, ac sine teste etiam à vestra sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ si communis patris et boni pastoris officio fungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam fiat, et ne sine omni sua culpa ledatur nec immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum est Christi vices in terris gerere, conservandæ charitatis exempla prebere, ita suum vindicare ne quid alteri detrahatur, ex equo et bono omnia disceptare, plane, simpliciter, et aperte agere, promissa prestare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quo

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cursum aperte instituerat. Hæc omnia non ascribimus sanctitati vestræ, nec de occultis sacræ literæ permittunt judicare, et nos semper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipsos fieri equanimiter non ferremus. Sed si vestræ sanctit. oratores, si vestri nuncii, vestri magistratus auctore sanctitate vestra faciunt quod faciunt, cujus rei certum judicium conscientiæ vestræ sit, clara certe verisimilitudo interim elucet: sed si auctor est vestra sanctitas, si conscia est, si facta probat, immo si non improbat aperte, non corrigit: graviora sunt his que supra memoravimus quæ in sanctitatem vestram dici possunt, nam quum sanctitas vestra omnibus modis primum conata est impedire ne quis in causa nostra suam sententiam libere proferret, ac deinde post multas longas et varias preces, justitiæ administrandæ necessitate adacta, ut suum cuique liberum judicium permitteret, scribendi et dicendi quod suæ conscientiæ videretur, literis tandem in publicum missis permiserit, omnibus liberam in causa nostra scribendi facultatem: magistratus interea vestri, vestro etiam nomine, multis gravissime minati sunt, si quid scripserint in potestatem vestram. Hoc Bononiæ et aliis in locis permultis factum scimus. Cæsaris vero oratores ubique in Italia, ac vestris presertim ditionibus, contempto vestræ sanctitatis edicto, indies non cessant terrores, minas, et cætera quæque territamenta inculcare; sciente et volente, vel saltem non impediente sed connivente sanctitate vestra, his qui in causa nostra scripserunt ac scriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, qua conspiratione nescimus, effectum est, ut literarum nostrarum nec liber sit commeatus nec tutus. Christianissimus verò rex nobis significavit, quomodo orator vester qui apud illum est, de causa nostra etiam nomine sanctitatis vestræ, ut quidem asseruit, in verba pronuntiavit; nec veritus est tanto principi audacter et impudenter mentiri; ut diceret causam nostram contra omne jus et fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, si ex animi vestri sententia protulit, non semper ex animi sui sententia, et scripsit et locuta est sanctitas vestra, quæ causam nostram aliquando justissimam appellavit. Quod si temeritas illius

hominis à sanctitatis vestræ sinceritate remota est, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præscripta agere videatur, saltem aliqua ratione diluenda suspitio est: sicque illis agendum, quos splendor dignitatis reddit conspicuos; ne ullam scandali occasionem præstent, his quos in obsequio et amicitia continere cupiant. Nobiscum autem ita agat sanctitas vestra, ut naturæ præcepta non transiliat; si suum sibi integrum servari cupiat, ne nostrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad se in causa nostra: et si quas receperit, ne contra justitiam eas tueri studeat; sed secundum justitiam, eas in regnum remittat; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones suas, in hac causa contra nos, aut subditos nostros, quos illis modis non convenit deterreri. Sinat leges et prerogativas nostras regnique nostri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate vestris cedentes, sua vi procedere: inhibitiones istas, si quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori consilio revocet quæ factæ sunt, et cum alieni juris præjudicio, ne deinceps emittat. Summatim autem quod petitur; hoc est, ut ne ad se, neve ad curiam Romanam, causæ illius cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra regni nostri limites debet terminari. Nec credat sanctitas vestra, ut cum leges certas et fixas habeat hoc regnum nostrum Angliæ, ne causæ quæcunq; regiam personam, aut rempublicam quoquomodo tangentes, extra regni limites judiciis tractentur; vel permissuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi et violari; vel passuros regni nostri nobiles, tam grave præjudicium huic regno inferri. Breviter site nil moveat persona rogantis, moveat saltem causa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia naturæ et rationi consonum est, ut quod nostrum est nobis illibatum conservare studeamus. Rogamus autem auctoribus sacrosanctis consiliis, hoc est, vestris legibus; viz. ut in sua cujusque provincia causa terminetur. Rogamus ex sententia Divorum Cypriani et Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut supradiximus, equum visum est. Denique rogamus, quod leges nostræ diversum non patiantur, et nos à contentionibus abhorremus. His certè non annuere non potest sanctitas vestra, si illum charitatis fervorem habeat, quem et titulus dignitatis præ se

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fert, et nos etiam habemus. Veruntamen, si hæ causæ rogandi sanctitatem vestram moverint, ut concedat quod justum est, eatenus tamen apud nos valebunt, ne de sanctitatis vestræ manu patiamur quod injustum est: nec quisque facile patitur auferri, quod suum est. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, sed à contentione non abest detrimentum: et nullius ferè compendio semel natæ controversiæ transiguntur: quid animi habeat sanctitas vestra, quid autem nobis respondere decreverit, rogamus ut per literas velit significare.

Number 19.

A letter of Gr. Cassali from Compiegne. An original.

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. 13.

SERENISSIME et invictissime Domine mi supreme, salutem. Compendium regem Christianissimum, quemadmodum sibi placere ipse mihi dixerat, sum subsequutus. Cum ejus majestati duo adhuc agenda supererant: primum, quia meorum literis certior factus sum, brevi pontificem cum Cæsare conventurum, literæ ad duos cardinales, qui Parisiis sunt, ab hoc rege Christianissimo conscribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quo celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam festinent. Itaque veluti à rege postulavi, ut hujusmodi literæ exarentur. Deinde valde existimabam necessarium, cum hoc principe agere, ut duobus cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes cardinalis de Monte meminissent. Eique pensionem annuam, saltem trium millium aureorum, ex quadraginta millibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in cardinales distribuere assignarent. Et rex quidem hoc etiam scribi ad duos cardinales jussit secretario Vitandri: quicum ego postmodo super iis pensionibus sermonem habui, cognovique sic in animo regem habere, ut duo cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potissimum digni hac regia sint liberalitate, in eosque, quum quid in regno Galliæ ecclesiasticum vacare contigerit, ex meritis unius cujusque pensiones conferantur. Tunc autem nihil in promptu haberi, quod cardinali de Monte dari possit: verum regis nomine illi de futuro esse promittendum, quod mihi certe summopere displi-

cuit; et secretario Vitandri non reticui, ostendens pollicitationes hujusmodi centies, jam cardinali de Monte factas fuisse; et modo si iterum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, nisi ut illius viri quasi ulcera pertractent id quod Vitandri verum esse fatebatur, pollicitusq; est se, quum rex à Venatu rediisset, velle ei suadere, ut cardinalem de Monte aliqua præsenti pensione prosequatur; qua quidem te nihil conducibilius aut oportunius fieri posset.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum literis ex urbe significatur, ad Guronum perscribi. Et D. Benettum ad dominum ducem Norfolciæ scribere arbitror his literis, quæ hic mihi redditæ sunt, et cum præsentibus mitto. Quod autem et rege Christianissimo cognovi illud est. Constituisse Cæsarem, superioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinando fratri viginti millia peditum, equitum decem millia; ita ut ipse solveret de suo stipendia sex millibus Boemorum, et duobus millibus militum navalium: quatuor vero millibus Germanorum darentur stipendia à liberis Germaniæ civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italorum erant octo millia, nihil certi stipendii decernebat; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plærumque evenire consuevit, aut exigua re, aut ad summum dimidio stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem equitum millibus, duo millia ex Flammingis, ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros stipendium à pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, statuebat. Sed enim Itali milites, male se tractari existimantes, tumultu facto Italiam versus abierunt; quod quum reliqui cognovissent, alii alio domos suas omnes discesserunt. Hujus autem seditionis crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: idque quoniam discedentes milites ipsius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: illum igitur Cæsar comprehendi jussit: et cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejusdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo post dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos dispositos abiens Venetias se contulit: atque hanc quidem rem pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tulisse dicitur; et de adeo insigni contumelia cum Cæsarianis omnibus est conquestus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæsarem excusarunt, rogaruntq; ut placato sit animo donec Cæsarem

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ipsum audiat, qui ostendet quicquid fecit in ipsius pontificis, beneficium fecisse. De conventu pontificis Cæsarisq; pro certo ferme habetur Bononiæ futurum : et ut ex litteris colligi potest, jam nunc Cæsar Italiam cum duodecim milibus peditum ingressus est : et pontifex ab urbe Bononiam versus discedet, Romam enim venerat Petrus Cona Cæsaris legatus ad pontificem deducendum : qua de re quum hic certior factus essem, ad Franciscum fratrem meum, qui Romæ est, scripsi, ut cardinalem de Monte, et alterum amicum nostrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita festinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipsos secum ducere potest, promittat se nihil antequam Romam redierit in causa majestatis vestræ facturum, quum præsertim absque ipsis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici possit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis cardinalibus diceret mandavi : quod si viderit non posse id a pontifice impetrari, ab ipsis contendet ut pontificem omnino sequuntur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, sed quoquo modo sese deferri faciant : neque velit cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, absente pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præsertim si, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, pontifex Bononiæ usque in mensem Martium aut Aprilem est commoraturus. Sed nunc quod scribam omittendum non est. Quum Caletio discedens equum consedissem, secretarius qui illic erat nuntii pontificii, se litteras habere à nuntio mihi dixit, quibus respondebat ad quandam partem suarum litterarum, quæ illi meis verbis significarat, velle se omnino ad pontificem scribere, ne quicquam in causa majestatis vestræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ sibi rationabiliter placere possent, dummodo nihil super causa factum fuisset. Responsum autem nuntii illud erat, se in eam sententiam ad pontificem scripsisse, et de ea ita scripsisse, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil ante quam ego redierim in majestatis vestræ causa innovatum fore : enimvero me rogavit ut aliquid boni, et quod nostris placere posset afferrem, ne ipse mentitus esse videretur.

Sed de pensione in cardinalem de Monte conferenda, quoniam postmodo rex Christianissimus quemadmodum mihi

promiserat scribere recusavit, et me rogavit ut adventum magni magistri expectarem, quid sequutum sit majestas vestra ex domino Wintoniensi cognoscet, ad quem de hac re abunde scripsi. Felix sit et optime valeat majestas vestra. Compendii die xvi. Novemb. M. D. xxxii.

Regia majestatis.

Number 20.

A representation made by the convocation to the king before the submission.

FIRST, as concerning such constitutions and ordinances provincial as be to be made hereafter by us your most humble subjects, we having our especial trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, and your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of Gods honour and Christen religion, and specially in your incomparable learning farr exceeding in our judgments the learning of all other kings and princes that we have redde of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily encrease in your majestie, do offer and promise hereunto the same that from henceforth *during your highness natural life* which we most hertily beseech Almighty God long to preserve, we shall forbear to enact promulge or put in execution, any such constitution or ordinance so by us to be made in time coming, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to make promulge and execute such constitutions, and the same so made shall approve by your highness authorite. Cotton library, Cleop. F. 1.

Secounde, Whereas your highness honorable commons do pretend that diverse of the constitutions provincial, which have ben heretofore enacted, be not only much prejudicial to your highness prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said commons, we your most humble subjects for the considerations aforesaid, be contented to referr and commit all and singular the said constitutions to the examination and judgment of your grace only: and which soever of the same shall finally be found thought and judged by

PART III. your graces most high wisdom prejudiciall and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promise your highness to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annull the same, according to the judgment of your grace. Saving to us allwaie all such immunities and liberties of this church of England, as hath been granted unto the same by the goodness and benignite of your highness, and of others your most noble progenitors, with all such constitutions provincial as do stand with the laws of Almighty God *and holy church*, and of your realm heretofore made, which we most humbly beseech your grace to ratifie and approve by your royal assent, for the better execution of the same in times to come, amongst your graces people. Providing also that until your highness pleasure herein shall be further declared unto us, all manner of ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions in like manner and form as they have used the same in times past.

Number 21.

A letter by Magnus to Cromwell, concerning the convocation of York. Taken from the original.

Cleop. E. 6. p. 252. AFTER full due recommendation unto your good mastership, like it the same to wete, that yesterdaie was here with me Mr. Doctor Lee, and shewed unto me the kings most gracious pleasure and your advertisements for my going northwards to the convocation at York. So it is, as I doubt not the said Mr. Doctor Lee knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been sik and diseased, but greatly grieved with a rewme in myn hed, and a catarr fallen into my stomake, by reason whereof, I have had, and yet have a contynuall great cough, I am in truste that my diseas and sicknes is in declination, supposing thereby the sooner to have recovery, and this daye have sent for my horses into Nottingham shir, and truste with the helpe of God to be at York soone after the begynning of the said convocation. Many yeres afore-passed, I have ever been redy to go when I have been commanded, and yet I have as good a will as ever I had, but myn olde body is nowe soe ofte cloggod with infirmitie and

unweildenes, that it woll not aunswer to the effect of my desire and good mynde, yet nevertheles with the good helpe and counsell also of Mr. Bartlot, I shall doe asmuch as I may to make me soe strong as it woll be, and have had communycation at large with the said Mr. Doctor Lee, touching our intended business. I am very glad that he shall be at York at this season, for at the laste convocation where as was graunted unto the kings highness the great some of mony to be paide in five yeres, with the recognising his grace to be *supremum caput, &c.* I had very litle helpe, but my self, albeit the kings highness said that he wolde have sent other bookes after me, which came not: soe that therefore the kinges causes were the longer in treating and reasonyng or they came to good effect and conclusion; the prelates and clergie there woll not in any wise give firme credence to reporte of any acts that be paste here, onles the same be shewed unto them authentically, either under seale, or otherwise, or the kings most honourable letters addressed accordingly, these two things in myn oppynnyon, must both be done, for without the same, the prelats and clergie of the north parties being farre from knowledge of the kings most high pleasure, woll not for any credence, be hastie to proceed to any strainge acts, but woll esteem their reasons and lernyng, to be as effectuall as others be. I write the more at large unto you herryne, bycause, as it shall please you, and as ye shall seem good, the matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have commen nowe unto you my self, but I assure you, I dare not as yet come into the open ayer, soe soone as I may, it shall be my firste pilgrimage by the grace of God, who ever preserve you myn one good master. At Maribone this Monday the xxth daye of Aprill.

Your own preiste
and bedeman,
T. Magnus.

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Number 22.

A protestation made by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, against all the acts passed in the parliament to the prejudice of the church.

Protestatio archiepiscopi Cantuar.

1531. P. 120. In Dei nomine. Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quòd anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo xxxi°. indictione quintâ, pontificatûs reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Clementis divinâ providentiâ illius nominis papæ septimi, anno nono, mensis verò Februarii die vigesimo quarto: in quodam superiori cubiculo sive camerâ infra manerium reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Wilhelmi permissione divinâ Cant' archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis, et apostolicæ sedis legati, de Lambithe Winton' dioc. situatum in nostrorum notariorum publicorum subscriptorum, ac testium inferius nominatorum, præsentiâ constitutus personaliter idem reverendissimus in Christo pater, quandam protestationem, in scriptis redactam, fecit, et interposuit, ac palàm et publicè protestatus est, cæteraque fecit et exercuit prout, et quemadmodum quâdam papiri schedulâ, quam manibus suis tunc tenens publicè legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem schedulæ tenor sequitur, et est talis.

In Dei nomine. Amen. Nos Wilhelmus permissione divinâ Cant. arch. totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, protestamur publicè et expressè, pro nobis, et sanctâ ecclesiâ nostrâ metropoliticâ Cantuariensi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, sicuti neque sanâ conscientiâ possumus, *alicui statuto* in præsenti parliamento apud fratres prædicatores London tertio die mensis Novembris anno Dom' 1529. et anno regni regis Henrici Octavi xxi. inchoat', et abinde usq; ad Westm' prorogat', & ibidem huc usque continuat', *edito*, seu *deinceps edendo*, quatenus statuta hujusmodi, seu eorum aliquod, in derogationem *Romani pontificis*, aut *sedis apostolicæ*; vel damnum præjudicium, sive restrictionem *ecclesiasticæ potestatis*; aut in subversionem, enervationem, seu

derogationem, vel diminutionem, *jurium, consuetudinum, privilegiorum, prærogativarum, præeminentiarum,* seu *libertatis ecclesiæ nostræ metropoliticæ Christi Cant'*, prædict' tendere dignoscuntur, *quomodolibet consentire;* sed ad omnem juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debebit, eisdem *dissentire, reclamare, contradicere;* ac *dissentimus, reclamamus,* et *contradicimus* in his scriptis. Super quibus omnibus, et singulis præmissis, idem reverendissimus pater nos notarios publicos subscriptos sibi unum, vel plura, publicum seu publica, instrumentum sive instrumenta, exinde conficere debitè et instanter requisivit et rogavit. BOOK II.

Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die, et loco prædictis; præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et probis viris, magistris Johanne Cocks, legum doctore: Rogero Harmam theologiæ baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, clerico: et Wilhelmo Waren literato, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Istud instrumentum similiter erat subscriptum manibus prædictorum trium notariorum, *with the foregoing instrument; which was that of the submission of the clergy. They were*

William Potkyn, John Hering, and Thomas Argal.

This was copied out of a MS. in my lord Longvill's library.

Number 23.

To the king. From Edmund Bonner at Marseilles.

A letter of Bonner's upon his reading the king's appeal to the pope. An original.

PLEASETH it your highnes to be advertised, that sythen my last letters sent unto the same of the ivth of this present by Thadens the curror wherein I declared in what termes were the proceedings here, I was commaunded by my lord of Winchester and other your highnes ambassadoures here, to intimate unto the popes person, if the same were possible to do, all suche provocations and appelles which your high- Cotton library, Vitellius, B. 14. fol. 75.

PART III.

nes heretofore had made unto the generall councell, and sent hither to be intimated accordinglie. Whereupon desiring Mr. Penyston to take the pains with me unto the popes palace for the expeditions of an acte concernyng your highnes, and he right glad and very well content to do the same: I repayred with hym thither the viith of this present, in the mornyng, and albeit that at the begynnyng some resistence and contradiction was made that we shold not come unto the pope, which as then was in manner full readye to come unto the consistorie; and therefore not accustomed with other business to be interrupted, yet in conclusion we came to that chamber where the pope stode bytwene two cardinalles, de Medices, and Lorayne, redie apparalled with his stole towards the consistorie. And incontinently upon my comyng thither, the pope, whos sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers tymes, making a good pawse in one place, in which tyme I desired the datary to advertise his holines that I desired to speke with him. And albeit the datarie made no litle difficultie therein thinking the tyme and place not most convenient, yet perceyvyng that upon refusal I wool have goon furthwith to the pope, he advertised the pope of my said desire. And his holynes dismyssing as then the said cardinals, and letting his vesture fall went to a wyndowe in the said chamber calling me unto him, at what tyme (doyng reverence accustomed) I shew'd unto his holynes how that your highness had given me expresse and strayte commandment to intimate unto hym, how that your grace had first solomly provoked and allso after that appealled unto the generall councell, submitting your self to the tuition and defence thereof, which provocation and appelles I said I had under authentike writinges then with me to shewe for that purpose. Declaring that your highnes was moved thus to doo upon reasonable causes and grounds expressed in the said provocation and appelles, and yet nevertheless soo tempering your doynges that beynge a good and catholike prince, and proceeding thereafter, your grace mynded not any thing to say, doo, or goo about agaynst the holie catholique and apostolique churche, or the authority of the see,

otherwise then was the office of a good catholike prince, and BOOK II.
chaunsing soo to doo indeed intended in tyme and place according, catholiquely to reforme and await the same. And herewithall I drew out the said writing shewing his said holynes that I brought the same for proof of the premisses and that his holynes might see and perceive all the same, adding hereunto that your highnes used these remedies not in any contempt either of the churche, the see, or of his holynes, but only upon causes expressed in the said writings. Desiring also his holynes that althoughe in tymes passed it liked hym to shewe unto me much benevolence and kyndnes wherbie I must and did accompte my self greatly bounden unto the same, yet considering the obligations a subject must and doth of right beare chiefly unto his sovereyne lord, he wold take al my doyngs in good parte, and not to ascribe any unkyndnes unto me in this behalfe, but only to consider that a subject and servant must do his masters commandement. The pope havyng this for a brekefast, only pulled downe his head to his shoulders after the Italion fashion, and said that because he was as then fully ready to goe to the consistorie he would not tarye to hear or see the said writings; but willed me to come at after noone and he would gladly giffme audience to all the same, and other things that I would propose or do, whereupon his holynes departing streyght to the consistorie, I returned to your said ambassadors, telling them what I had doon, and what answer I had. That after noone I and Mr. Penyston (whom I entended aswel in the popes answeres, as also in other my doinge, to use as a wittnes if the cause should soe require,) repayred to the palace, and bycause that audience was assigned unto many, and among others unto the ambassador of Millan, I tarried there the space of an howre and halfe, and finally was called into the pope's secret chamber, where (taking with me Mr. Penyston) I founde his holines having only with hym Godsadyn of Bononie; the pope perceyving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon hym, and a great deale the more, in my opinion, bycause that in the morning I did speak with his holines alone,

PART III. Mr. Penyston albeit beyng in the said chambre, and seying what I did, yet not resorting nye unto his said holines. And to put the pope out of this fantasie, and somewhat to colour my entent, I tolde his holynes that the said Mr. Penyston was the gentilman that had brought unto me commission and letters from your highnes, to intimate unto his holynes the provocation and appeal forsaid; the pope percase not fully herewith satisfied, and supposing that I would (as I indede entended) have recorde upon my doyngs, said, that it were good for him to have his datarie, and also other of his counsell, to hear and see what were done in that behalfe, and thereupon called for his datarie, Symonetta, and Capisuchi. In the mean whyle, they beyng absent, and sent for, his holynes leaning in his wyndow towardes the west syde, after a little pawse turned unto me, and asked me of my lord of Winchester how he did, and likewise afterward of Mr. Brian; but after that sort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, saying thos words; how doth Mr. Brian, is he here now: and after that I had answered hereunto, his holynes not a little seeming to lament the death of Mr. Doctor Bennet, whom he said was a faithfull and good true servant unto your highnes, enquired of me whether I was present at the time of his death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he said, that your highness would use his holyness after such sorte, as it appears ye did: I said that your highnes no less did marveyll that his holynes havyng found so much benevolence and kyndnes at your handes in all tymes passed, would for acquitall shewe such unkyndnes as of late he did, as well in not admitting your excusator with your lawfull defences, as alsoe pronouncing against your highnes: and here we entered in comunication upon two poyntes, oon was that his holynes having comitted in tymes passed, and in moost ample forme, the cause into the realm, promising not to revoke the said commission, and over that to confirm the processe and sentence of the commisaries, beyng two cardinalles and legates of his see, should not especially at the poynt of sentence, have advoked the cause from their hands, reteyning it at Rome, but at the lest, he

should have committed the same to some other indifferent judges within your realme, making herein that it could not be retayned at Rome: this argument was either his holynes would have the matter examyned and ended, or he would not: if he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a place whither your highness might personally come, and ellse bende to send your proctor, or else in that place whither your highnes nother couud or ought personally to come unto; ne yet bounde to sende a proctor; if he intended in a place whither your highnes might personally come, and elles bound to send a proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he entended that the matter shuld be examyned and ended in that place wher your highnes neither could nor ought personally to come, nor yet bounde to send a proctor then his holynes did not well and justly. Seying that ether your highness shuld therbie be compelled to make a proctor in matter of such importance against your will; or enforced to a thing unto you impossible, or elles to be left without defence, having just cause of absence. And for as much as Rome was a place whither your highnes could not ne yet ought personally come unto, and alsoe was not bound to send thither your proctor: I said therefore that his holynes justly shuld not have retayned the matter at Rome. The second point was that your highnes cause beyng in the opinion of the best learned men in Christendome approved good and just, and so many wayes known unto his holynes; the same shuld not soe long have retayned it in his hands without judgment: his holynes answering to the same, as touching the first poynt, said that if the quene (meanyng the late wife of prince Arthure, calling her alway in his conversation, the queen) had not given an oath *perhorræscentiæ et quod non sperabat consequi justitiæ complementum impartibus*, refusing the judges as suspect, he would not have advoked the matter at all, but been content it shuld have been examyned and ended in your realm; but seyng she gave that othe and refused the judges as suspect, appealling also to his courte, he said he might and ought to hear her, his promise made

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to your highnes, which was qualified, notwithstanding. And as touching the seconde poynt, his holynes said that your highnes only was the defaut thereof, bycause ye woulde not send a proxie unto the cause, without which he said the same coude not be determyned, and albeit I replied aswell against his answere to the first poynt, saying that his holynes cou'd ne yet thereupon retaine the matter at Rome, and proceed against your highnes there, and likewise against the seconde poynt, saying that your highnes was not bounde to sende any proxie, yet his holynes seeing that the datarie was come in upon this last conclusion, said only that al these matters had been oft, and many tymes fully talked upon at Rome, and therefore willed me to omitte ferther communication thereupon, and to proceede to the declaration, and doing of such things, that I was specially sent for: whereupon making protestation of your highnes mynde and intent towardes the church, and see apostolique, not intending any thing to doe in contempt of the same, I exhibited unto his holynes the commission which your highnes had sent unto me under your private seale (the other sent by Frances the curror not beyng then come) desiring and asking according to the tenour thereof, and his holynes delivering it to the datarie commanded hym to rede it, and hereing in the same thes wordes, *gravaminibus et injuriis nobis ab eodem sanctissimo patre illatis et comminatis*, began to loke up after a new sorte and said, *O questo et multo vero*, this is much true, meanyng that it was not true indeede. And verily sure not only in this but also in many partes of the said commission as they were red he shewed hymself grevouslie offended: insomuch that when those words, *ad sacro-sanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legitimum et in loco congruenti celebrandum*, were red, he fell in a marvelous great cholere and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by wordes: speaking with great vehemence, and saying, Why did not the king (meanyng your majestie) when I wrote to my nuncio this you passed to speke, unto hym for this generall councell, giff no answer unto my said nuncio, but referred hym for

answere therein to the French king; at what tyme he might perceive by my doyng (he said) that I was very well disposed and much spake for it: the thing so standing, now to speke of a general councel, O good Lord. But well! his commission, and all other his writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he said, whiche last wordes we thought he spake willing to hide his choler, and make me byleve that he was nothing angrie with this doyngs, where in very dede I perceived by many arguments that it was otherwise: and one among another was taken here for unfallible with them that knoweth the popes conditions, that he was contynually folding up and unwynding of his handkerchefe, which he never doth but when he is tykled to the very hert with great choler. And albeit he was lothe to leave conversation of this generall councel to ease his stomack, yet at the last he commanded the datarie to rede further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reding of thoos clauses, *si oportet rever. patribus, &c.* and *post* and his holynes eftsones chafed greatly; finally saying, *Questo e boon fiatto*, this is but well doon. And what tyme that clause *Protestando, &c.* and also that oother, *Nos ad ea juris et facti remedia*, was red by the datarie, he caused hym to rede theym again; which doon, his holynes not a litle chafyng with hymself asked what I had moore. And then I repeting my protestation, did exhibit unto him your highnes provocation, which incontenently he delivered to the datarie to rede, and in this also he founde hym self much greived, notyng in the begynnyng not oonly those wordes *archiepiscopo Eboracensi*, but also thus, *citra tum renocat. quorum cumque procuratorum:* at which he made good pawse, conjectering therebie as I toke it, that ther were proctors made which might excercise and appear in your name if your highnes had ther with be contented. The datarie reding ferther and comyng to those woords *quod non est nostræ intentionis, &c.* his holynes with great vehemence says, that thoughe your highnes in your protestation had respect to the church and authorite of the see apostolique, yet you had noon to hym at al; whereunto I answered and said it was

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not soe, as his holynes should perceyve in the other writings. But of truth say what I say wooled ther was in manor never a clause in the said provocation that soe pleased him, but he woold wrynge and whrist it to the worst sense; as in annotations upon the margynes aswell of provocation as alsoe appellations, I shall fully declare unto your highness; which yet nevertheles at this time bycause it cannot be perfect at the departure of this byrer I doo not send it to your highnes. As the detarie was reding this provocation, came in Symoneta, and even at those woords, *Sed deinde publico eantur judicio.* Wherin the pope snarling and sayeing that *publicum*, Symoneta said no such was never had. Symoneta said, now syne they spake of that archbishop, I suppose, that made that good processe, the cause depending afore your holynes in the consistorie. A said the pope a worshipful processe and judgment. And as he was chafing hereupon, ther came oon of his chamber to tell hym that the Frenȝh king did comme to speke with his holynes: and incontenently hereapon the pope made great hast to mete hym; and even at the very door they mette together, the French king makyng very lowe curtisie, putting of his bonet, and keping it of, till he came to a table in the popes chamber. And albeit I much dout not that the French king knew right well what doyngs was in hand, advertised thereof by oon Nicolas his secretarie and also of the popes pryvey chamber, yet his grace asked of the pope what his holynes did. And the same gave answer and said, *Questi signori Inglesi sono stati qua per intimare certi provocationi et appellationi e di fare altre cose*, Theis gentlemen of England be here to intimate certeyn provocations and appelles and to do other things. Whereupon they two secretly did fall in conversation; but what it was I cannot tell: the French kinge his back was against me, and I understood not what he said. Trouth it is, when the French king had spoke a long tyme and made ende of his tale, the pope said those wordes, *Questa e per la bonta vostræ*, This is of your goodnes. Proceding ferther in conversation and laughing meryly together they so talked the space of three quarters of an

hower, it beyng then after six of the clock in the nyght, and in conclusion the French kinge making great reverance toke his leave, but the pope went with him to the chamber dorre, and albeit the French king woold not have suffered hym further to have goon, yet his holynes following hym out of the doore toke hym by the hande and brought him to the doore of the seconde chamber, where making great ceremonies the oon to the other, they departed, the pope returnyng to his chamber, and seyng me stande at doore, willed me to enter with hym. And so I did havyng with me Mr. Penyston. And then and ther the datarie red out the rest of the provocation: interrupted yet many tymes by the pope, which ofte for the easement of his mynde made his interpretations and notes, especially if it touched the mariage which of late your highnes made with the quene that now is, or the processe made by the archbishoppe of Canturburie.

The provocations red, with muche a doo, I under protestations forsaid did intimate unto him the two appelles, made also by your highnes to the generall councell afor my lord of Winchester, which his holynes delyvered to his datarie commanding hym to rede theym. Notyng and marking well all manner and contentes thereof: and noo lesse offended therbie then he was with the oother. In the reding whereof came in the cardinal de Medices, whiche stoode bare headed contynually during the reding thereof, casting down his hede to the grounde, and not a litle marvelling, as it appered unto me, that the pope was so troubled and mourned. When this was doon, his holynes said that forasmuch as this was a matter of great weyght, and importance, towching alsoe the cardinalls, he woold consulte and deliberate with them hereupon in the consistorie, and afterwardes gif me answer therein. I contented therewith, desired ferther his holynes that forasmuch as he had hard all the provocations and apelles, seying also the original writings thereupon, that I might have thym again; bycause I said I must aswell to the cardinales as alsoe to other judges and persons havyng interest, make intimation accordingly. His holynes in the

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begynnyng was precise that I should in noe wise have thym; but they to remain with hym. Nevertheles afterward perceyvyng that I much stode upon it, he answered and said that like wise as concernyng the provocations and appelles with my petition concernying the same, he entended to giff me answer after that he had consulted with the cardinalles in the consistorie, so alsoe he entended to doo accordyng redelyvering of the said writings. And hereupon departed from him about eight of the clocke in the nyght, havyng remayned afar mor than three howers, I repayred to my lord of Winchester and other your highnes ambassadors here, telling them what I had doon, and what answer alsoe was giffen unto me.

On the morowe following which was Satterday, albeit ther was consistorie yet the same was extraordinarie, chiefly for the declaration of the newe cardinalles, the bishop of Beziers, the bishop of Langres, the great maysters nevew, and the duke of Albanie his brother. And in the said consistorie as far as I could learn ther was nothing specially spoken or determyned concernyng the said provocations and appelles, or answer to be given unto the same. Upon Sonday the ixth of this present at after noone havyng the said Mr. Penyston with me I repayred to the palace, and spake ther with the datarie to knowe when I should have answer of the pope, and he told me that the day following shuld be the consistorie, and that the pope after the same would giff me answer, and albeit that the said datarie thus said unto me, yet willing to be sure, I induced on Carol de Blanchis my great acquaintance and one of the chieff cameraries with the pope, to enquire of his holynes when I should receive and have answer to the provocations and appelles, with other things purposed afor by me unto his holynes. And his holynes gave unto hym to be declared unto me the self same answer that the datarie afor had gyven unto me, whereupon I departed for that day.

Apon Monday the xth of this was ordinary consistorie, and thider I, having with me the said Mr. Penyston, repayred. Tarieng ther alsoo unto the tyme that all were

commaunded furth, savyng the cardinals: and understanding then eftsoones by the datarie that I must come agayne at afternoone for answer, I did for that tyme departe, resorting at afternoon unto the palace, and after that I had taried ther ii howers, in the chamber next unto the pope, which all that tyme continually was occupied in blessing of bedes, giving his blessing, and suffering the ladies and nobles of the court to kiss his foot: I was called in unto hym, ther beyng ther only in the chamber cardinal Salviati and the datarie. At my comyng he said unto me, *Domine doctor quid vultis?* And I told his holynes that I loked for answer acording as his holynes had promised me afor. And then he said that his mynde towards your highnes alwayes hath been to mynister justice, and do pleasure unto you, albeit it hath not been so taken. And he never injustely griefed your grace that he knoweth, nor entendeth hereafter to doo. And as concernyng the appellations made by your highnes unto the general counsel, he said that forasmuche as ther was a constitution of pope Pius his predecessor, that did condemne and reprove all such appelles, he therfor did reject your grace appeales as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touching the generall councel, he woold doo his best diligence therin that it should take effect; repeting agayn how in tymes passed he had used alwayes diligence for that purpose, writing therein to all Christen princes, your highnes yet not answering thereunto, but remitting his nuncio to the French king. Which notwithstanding he saith he wool yet do his duty, and procure the best he can that it shall succeede, nevertheles adding that he thought when it were well considered, that the king of England ought not, nor had autoritie to call any general councel, but that the convoking thereof apperteyned unto his holynes. Finally concluding, that for his part he woold alwayes do his dutie as apperteyned. And as concernynge the restitution of the publique writings made upon the provocation and appelles forsaid, he said he woold not restore theym, but woold kepe theym, and that safely. Saying therwithal, that I might have when I woold, *ab episcopo*

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Vintoniensi, and other afor whom they were made, as many as I woold. And albeit that I shewed hym his own lawe to be, that he coued not detayne them, yet he saying that it was but *de lana caprina*, and refusing to make redeliverie therof, commanded the datarie only to gife me the answere in writinge, and soo bade me fare well.

Goyng with the datarie to his chamber for that purpose, I perceyved ther that the answer was alredy writ, howbeit that it was not touching so many thinges as the pope had by mouth afor declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the dataries hande, acording to the accustomed maner. And requyring the datarie to make it perfect, and delyver it unto me subscribed with his hande; he willed me to come the day folowyng early in the mornyng, and I shuld have it. Whereapon I deperted, and came in the mornyng to the dataries chamber in the palace, but he was goon afor to the pope. Wherefor repayring to the popes chamber and fynding him ther, I requyerd the said answer in writing. And he goyng with me to his chamber, delyvered me for answer the self-same that was written the day befor, adding only in the ende these words, *Et hæc ad præsens, salvo jure, latius et particularius si videbimus respondendi;* subscribing the same with his own hande, keping one other copie with hymself. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my lord of Winchester, and other your highe ambassadours, to shew theym al the same.

And by this your highnes may now perceyve, whether that the pope will staye process apon any your provocations or appelles, howsomever they be made, or after what sorte they be intymated unto hym, and allso whether that unto such tyme he receive inhibition from the general councel, his process shall be taken in lawe as nought. I feare that at his returne to Rome, he will doo much displeasure, if by some good policy he be not stay'd. The original answer delivered unto me by the datary, forsaid I doe at this tyme send unto your highnes, only retaynyng with me the copie thereof.

And syne albeit your graces commandement, declared by

your letters dated at Chatham the xth of August last passed, sent unto me seemed to be, that devysing some busyness of my own, I shuld folowe alwayes and be present where the pope resorteth, still residing and demouring, noting, marking and enserching what is doon, and gyving your highnes diligent advertisement thereof, as the case and importance of the mater shuld require; yet for as much as in this late congress, ther was nothing in maner doon by the pope at the contemplation of any in your highnes favour, and that the appellations and provocations of your highnes being intimated, it is not like any thing of great moment to be loked for, especially all things standing as they do; I not knowyng your highnes ferther determinat pleasure, and thinking that by reason of the premisses, your highnes woold not that I shuld ferther interprise in that behalf, have therfor (the pope beyng goon towardes Rome from hence the twelfth of this present) taken my jorney towards Lyons the thirteenth of the same, your highnes ambassadors by reason of the departure of the French kinges soe alsoe doyng: and from thence I intend towards your graces realme, unless I receive your commands to the contrarie.

To declare unto your highnes, in what perplexitie and anxietie of mynde I was in until that this intimation was made, what zele and affection I have borne therein, how glad I woold have been such things might have commen to pass, which your highnes so much hath desired, and generally of all my doyngs here, without fear or displeasure of any man, it shall not be needful. Partely bycause I trust your highnes dowteth not thereof, and partely bycause the bearer hereof, untill Mr. Brian, to whom I moost accompte my self much bounden unto, will I suppose at large declare all the same, with other things here doing; of whom your highnes I doute not shall perceyve that although the Frenchmen were made pryvey of our doyngs concernyng the intimation, and in maner willing the same, two or three dayes afor the popes departure, yet now for excuse they saye that all their matters and yours also be destroyed

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therby. And thus most humblie I recommend me unto your highnes beseeching Almighty God to conserve the same in felicity many yeares.

From Marselles,
the xiiith of Novembre, 1533.
your highnes moost bounde subject,
and poore servant,
Edmond Boner.

Number 24.

Cranmer's letter for an appeal to be made in his name. An original.

Cotton library, Cleop. E. 6. p. 234.

In my right harty maner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I stande in drede, lest our holy father the pope, do entende to make some maner of prejudicial processe against me and my church, and therfore having probable conjectures therof, I have provoked from his holyness to the general counsell, accordingly as the king's highness and his counsell have advised me to do; which my provocation and a procuracie under my seale, I do send unto you herwith, desiering you right hartely to have me commended to my lord of Winchester, and with his advise and counsell to intimate the said provocation, after the best maner that his lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the king's highnes commanded me thus to do, as ye shall (I trust) further perceve by his graces letters, nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this myne own desier ye woll be contented to take this peynes, tho' his highness shall percase forget to write unto you therin: which your peynes and kindness (if it shall lye in me in tyme to come to recompense) I woll not forget it with God's grace, who presearve you as my self. From Lambeth, the xxiid day of November.

Thomas Cantuar.

Number 25.

A minute of a letter sent by the king to his ambassador at Rome.

Ex MSS. Rymeri.

TRUSTY and right-welbiloved, we grete youe wel. And for asmuch as not only by the relacion and reaporte of our trusty chaplain maister doctor Boner, but also by certayne letters writtyn by sir Gregory, afore the dispeche of doctor Boner, uppon the lyvely communications had by the pope to the emperor, in justification and favour of our cause; by wych it appereth unto us, that his holyness favering the justice of our great cause, maketh countnance and demonstracion now to shew himself more propense and redy to the administration of justice to our contentation therin, thenne he hathe been accustumed in tymes past: discending for demonstration herof as you take it to those particularities folowyng, whyche sir Gregory hath also sent by way of instructions to Bonner; that is to say, that in cace we woll be content to sende a mandate requiring the remission of our cause into an indifferent place, he wold be content to appoint *locum indifferentem*, and a legate and two auditors from thense, *ad formand' processum*, reserving always the jugement therof to himself; or else if we woll consent and be agreable, inducing also our good brother and perpetual allye the French king, to be also content to conclude and establish for iii or iiii yeres, a general truix; that then the popes holiness is pleased, if we and our said good brother wol agree therunto, to indicte with al celeritie a general counsail, wherunto his holynes would remyt our cause to be finished and determyned. Which overtures being also proponed and declared unto us by the popes nuncio here, be set forth by him, and also in a letter to hym, as thoughe they had been by the said sir Gregory in our name desired of the popes holyness, and by him assented to, for our contentacion and satisfaction, in that behaulf: wherof we doo not a litle mervayl, considering that we of late never gave unto the said sir Gregory or any other, any suche commission or instructions for that purpose, but fully to the contrary. Nevertheless forasmoch as

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bothe by the relation of our said chaplain and by the purporte and effecte of the fore said letters, instructions, and also by the behaviour of the popes ambassadour here, and by such overtures as he on the popes behalfe hathe made unto us, we nowe considering the benevolent and towarde mynde of his said holines expressed and declared in the same, have moche cause to conceyve in our mynd, as we doo indede, good hope, that he depely pondering the justnes of our said cause, wil now take more respecte to put us in more quietnes therein, thenne we had any expectation heretofore: and therfor our pleasure is that you discretly relating to his holynes in what good parte we doo accepte and take his overtures and persuasions, doo gyve unto him our right harty thanks for the same, adding thereunto that we veraylie trust and be now of that opinion that his holynes calling to his remembrance the manifold commodities, profitts, and gratuities heretofor shewed by us, to him, and the see apostolique, demanding nothing for reciprocation of friendship and mutual amytie to be shewed at his hand, but only justice in our great matior, according to the lawes of God, and the ordenances of the holy counsailes, for the encrease of vertue, extirpation of vice, and quiet of al Christendom, established by our forfathers, wil now in discharge of his duetie towards God, shewing unto us correspondence of frendship according to our deserts, putting aparte all shadowes of delayes, more benivolently extende his good wil and gratuitie towards us in the acceleration and speedye finishing of our said cause, thenne those overtures doo purporte, whyche if it come so to pass, hys holines may be wel assured to have us and our realme as benevolent and loving towards him and the see apostolique as hath at any tyme hertofor been accustumed. And as concernyng the general truix for three or four yeres, albeit we do inwardly considre the greate good therof, and be of our oune nature asmoche inclyned therunto as any prince christened, and on thother side asmoche desirous to avoyde contencion, wherupon many tymes ensueth extremitie, to the hurte of many; yet nevertheless two things at this tyme

enforceth us to absteyne and forbere sodenly to consent to the same: one is, that we being afflicted, troubeled, and encombered in our oune conscience, and our realme therby greatly perplexed, cannot sodenly resolve our self to innovate or renewe any perfite establishment of peax with other, tyl we may be satisfied and have pure and syncere peax in our owne harte: and cause seying that it is wonly wyll and unkynd stubbernes with oblivion of former kyndnes, whyche occasions the lette of the spede finishyng of our cause, whyche ye may say that hys holynes yf it please hym may soon redres, havyng so good gronds for our part as he haveth, yf he wyl hartely therto applye hym, and then summe good effecte myght happen to come therof. An other cause there is also that we being moost perfitely by an indissoluble amyte and leage unite and knyt unto our good brother and perpetual allye the French king, maye not in any wise, nor wil put our consent to any such request without the knowledge and assent of our said good brother, and other our and hys confederates: and notwithstandyng yf hys holynes thynketh that myne endeavour and labour herin may do hym any gratuyte and pleasure, or confer to hys purpose in any thyng, he advertesyng us therof, shall well persayve that there shall lack no goode diligens in us, to set forthe suche thyngs as may stonde with our honour, and be also pleasant to hym, he shewyng to us sume corespondnes of kyndnes in thys our just and wayghte cause. And as touching our consent to the indiction of a general counsail, thoughe sundry respects and considerations at the tyme nowe present, move us to thinke it not necessary, and that we nothing doubte but our cause being remytted to the same, we shuld withal convenient celeritie, that begonne have our desired end therein; yet we being nowe in veray good hope that the popes holynes at the last digesting thoroughly the justness of our cause, wil so use us in the same that according to trouth and equitie good and speedye successe therof shal folowe in other admyttyng the excusatory, or else in remyttyng bothe the knowlege of the fact and finall discition of the cause into thys realme where it was begon, accordyng

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to the olde sanctions of generall concilles and divers of his predecessours assent, and as he hymselfe confesseth in hys commyssion giffyn unto the cardinall for thys pourpose; we have now also suspended therfor our assent and consent therunto uppon two respects, wherof the first requireth a necessary suspencion of our said consent, forasmoch as the same dependeth uppon the assent of our said good brother and other our confederates, and that the oon of us without the other canne ne will in any wise consent to any acte of such highe importance as this is, which toucheth the hole bodye of Christendome. The seconde is, that in our opinion which our pleasure is ye with good dexteritie declare unto hys holynes the good respecte had of the state of the worlde, and of the time present; it were not expedient for the pope himself to consent therunto, considering that themperour is in maner compelled by the importunytie of the Germaynes and the Lutheran secte to cause the pope to indicte the said council. And howe the said Germaynes be mynded towards him and the see apostolique, we doubte not but his holynes dothe depely pondre and considre. But ye shal saye unto the popes holynes on our behaulf, that finding him towards us good and kinde, brefely expedyteyng our cause as affore is rehersy'd, wherof we now perceyve some lightlywood, and perceyving him to contynue and persever ernestly mynding the spedy ende and determynation therof, for our satisfaction, we canne do no lesse for reacquital therof, thenne to procure and practise by al wayes and meanes, aswell with our said good brother as with al other our allyes, confederates and friends, to do all things that maye be moost for the surety of his holynes and the commodities of the see apostolique, whyche we shall not faylle to do, yf he wyll dysclose to us the menys how far. As touching the sending of a mandate to require that the cause might be harde in an indifferent place, with reservation of the sentence to himself, ye shall signifie unto hys holynes that albeit we well considering hys towarde mynde for the spedy finishing of our said cause if we were a private person wold nothing mistrust to consent to his said overtures, ne the good effects

that might ensue of the same; yet nevertheles this persuasion soo toucheth contraryele to generall concilles, to the libertie, regalitie, and jurisdiction of all prynces, and most especially to our prerogatyffe royall, privileages of our realme, wherof we be hed and soveraign; within the whiche, by the ancient lawes of the same, al causes of matrymonye ther bygon and solemnized, cummyng after in question, ought to have their original commencement, and fynall discusse and discition by the English churche. Whyche thyngs well consideryd, he havyng also regarde to hys othe, in the resayte of hys dyngnitie, whych he ther actually gyffeth for observence both of the generall conselles, and the antique lauys of the faders of the chyrch; consideryng also with himself, how we at the tyme of our coronation, be likewyse obligyd by othe, to support and maintayne, the immunities and pryncely liberties of our realme and croone, whych to contrary, I make my self sure hys holynes well informyd will never requyre, syns it is prohybite bothe by Gods precept, and lawe of nature, by these words, *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.* Wherfore we fermely trust, that hys holynes, ponderyng and wayng in the balance of hys just hart and equal jugement, these most urgent both resons and causes, with the respect of hys duty to God, in minystryng justice and equitie; and consideryng also the obligation, whych we as king thowght not wordy, but by his election, be bounde to our realme, *scilicet defendere privilegias coronæ et regni*, wyll not at thys tyme thynk any unkindnes in us, thowght that thys hys request, *scilicet*, to send a mandate, or to have it in any other place than in thys realme determynyd by us, at thys tyme be not acceptyd. For surly it so hyghtly touchyt the prerogatyffe riall of thys realme, that thowght I wer myndyd to do it, yett must abstayne wythout the assent of our court of parliament, whyche I thynke verely wyll never condescent to it. Nevertheless ye may shew unto hys holines, that for thys offerre, we ascribe non unkyndnes to hym, but rather take it in good part; consideryng that by hys ambassadour wee doo parsayve, that hys mynde was to gratify and do pleasure herin

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to us, thys overture procedyng oppon Gregory's motion, werin to speke of that sort, I ensure you of us he had non commission, but rather to the contrary. And so we wyll ye shew the pope; assuryng forther hys holynes, that we be ryght sory that thys overture was no more resonable, or consonant to our honour. For surly in all resonable thyngs, we wold gladly shew our selfe benivolent to hym, as long as we persayve any maner of gratuitie in hym. More ye may say, that we thynke that we nor our realme have hytherto gyven any occasion to his holynes, wherby he shuld be moved at the contemplacion of any privie person, to attempte the violation of the immunities and liberties of thys our realme, or to bring the same in any publique contention, wherby he may compell us in the mayntenance of them, to shew and declare meny thyngs peraventure it unknowne prejudiciall and hurtfull to the papall dyngnitie, *as it is now usyd*, whych not compellyd we intende not to do. Yet an other gret reson as we thynk you may shew hys holines, gederyd owght of his own law, whych is thys: I beyng a commune parson, am not bondyn *in re arduâ*, as thys is to appere in hys court, and I beyng not bonden to appere, am not bonde to sende a proxtour. Wherfore his owne law shewyth evydently, that this mater owght not to be determynyd by hys court, but *per Anglicanam ecclesiam:* for yf hys court were juge, I shuld be obligyd to appere there. And ye shal further understand, that we have conceyved by certain lettres lately sent unto us by the said sir Gregory de Cassalis, that the popes holynes, amongs other persuasions, in the furtheraunce of our cause shewed unto hym, that the laweis being of the contrary parte of our cause, doo agree, that the pope in our cause may not dispence, without an urgent cause. Which opinion hys holynes thinketh moche more dothe avaunce the goodnes of our matier, thenne the general opinion of the devynes and lawyers on our parte, which doo affirm, that the pope in noo wise maye dispense. Whiche matier being also persuaded by his holynes to themperour, who declared, that at the tyme of the dispensation, there was extreme warres betwene our derest father of noble

memory, whose soule God pardon, and king Ferdinando, father to the quene. And for pacifieng therof the said dispensation was obteyned; wherupon the mariage ensued: which bereth a visage of an urgent cause, if it were true, as it is not. And therfore, as wel for the satisfaction of the pope's holynes in that behaulf, as for a clere resolution of the doubte by his holynes proponed, whether the quene were *cognita* by our brother prince Arthure, or noo; our pleasure is, that ye shal signifie to his holynes, that in the league betwene our said derest father, and the said Ferdinando, renoveled and concluded, sealed and signed with the said king Ferdinando, and the quene his wief hands, wherupon the dispensation for the mariage betwene us and the quene was obteyned, appereth no maner of cause. But playnly declaring the said twoo princes to be thenne and afor more perfitely established, unyted, and confederate in frendship and amytie, thenne eny other prince of Christendom, setteth forthe the cause of the dispensation and agrement for the said mariage, to be only for contynuaunce and augmentation of their said amytie, and for the vertuouse modestie and other qualities of the quene. In which league is also playnly mencyoned and expressed in two places therof, that the mariage betwene our said brother and her was solemnized and perfitely consummate; wherby, and by the depositions of a great nomber of noble and honorable personages, which hertofor by their othes have been examyned uppon the same, manifestly and playnly appereth to al indifferent herers, without doubt therof, that the quene was carnally knowen by our said brother prince Arthur; and the same dispensation soo proceeding, without urgent cause to be reputed *invalida*. The transumpte of which league autentiquely transumed, we sende unto youe herwith, to thintent ye may the better perceyve theffecte of the same. And finally, ye shall firther signifie to his holynes, that of the good succesee of this our cause, dependeth the suretie of our succession, and therupon ensueth the rest, peax, and tranquillitie of al our realme, and by the protracting thereof many perilous daungers maye and is like to ensue to the same, which above

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Number 26.

The judgment of the convocation of the province of York, rejecting the pope's authority.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo principi et domino Henrico VIII. Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defen-

sori, et domino Hiberniæ. Edwardus, permissione divinâ, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, salutem in eo, per quem reges regnant, et principes dominantur. Vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium, innotescimus et significamus, quod, cum juxta vestræ regiæ majestatis mandatum, coram prælatis et clero Eboracensi, provinciæ in sacra synodo provinciali, sive convocatione prælatorum et cleri ejusdem provinciæ Eboracensis, in domo capitulari ecclesiæ metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto die mensis Maii, anno Domini M.D.XXXIV. jam instanti, celebrata, et de diebus indies continuata congregatis proposita fuit sequens conclusio, Quod episcopus Romanus, in sacris scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius extraneus episcopus. Ac insuper, ex parte præsidentium in eadem synodo, per nos deputatorum memorati prælati et clerus, rogati et requisiti ut illam conclusionem suo consensu confirmarent et corroborarent, si illam veritati consonam, et sacris scripturis non repugnantem, existimarent aut judicarent. Tandem dicti prælati, et clerus Eboracensis provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem tractatum in ea parte habitum, ac maturam deliberationem, unanimiter et concorditer, nemine eorum discrepante, prædictam conclusionem fuisse et esse veram affirmarunt, et eidem concorditer consenserunt.

Quæ omnia et singula vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium, intimamus et significamus.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Dat. in manerio nostro de Cawodd, primo die mensis Junii, anno Domini, M.D.XXXIV. et nostræ consecrationis anno tertio.

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Number 27.

The judgment of the university of Oxford, rejecting the pope's authority.

In a book, stiled, Registrum, sive Epistolæ Regum et Magnatum ad Academiam Oxon. unà cum Responsis. *MS. Archiv. A.* 117. *ad an.* 1534. *P.* 127.

Part of the king's letter to the university.

Our pleasure and commandement is, that ye, as shall beseem men of vertue and profound literature, diligently intreating, examining, and discussing a certaine question sent from us to you, concerning the power and primacie of the bishop of Rome; send again to us in writing under your common seale, with convenient speed and celeritie, your mind, sentence, and assertion of the question, according to the meere and sincere truth of the same: willing you to give credence to our trusty and well-beloved, this bringer, your commissarie, as well touching our further pleeasure in the premisses, as for other matters, &c. Yeven under our signett, at our mannor of Greenewich, the eighteenth day of May.

The university's answer to the king.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, Johannes, permissione divina, Lincolniensis episcopus, almæ universitatis Oxon. cancellarius: nec non universus doctorum ac magistrorum, regentium et non regentium in eadem cœtus, salutem in Auctore salutis. Quum illustrissimus simul ac potentissimus princeps et dominus noster Henricus Octavus, Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, assiduis petitionibus et querelis subditorum suorum in summo suo parliamento, super intolerabilibus exterarum potestatum, exactionibus nuper propositis, controversiisque quibusdam habitis, super potestate ac jurisdictione Romani episcopi, variisque et urgentibus causis, contra eundem episcopum tunc ibidem expositis et declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut

commodis suorum subditorum in hac parte consuleret, et querelis satisfaceret: ipse tanquam prudentissimus Solomon, sollicitè curans quæ suorum sunt subditorum, quibus in hoc regno, divina disponente clementia, præest, altiusque secum considerans, quo pacto commodissimas regno suo sanciret leges; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra sacram scripturam aliquid statuat, (quam vel ad sanguinem usq; defendere semper fuit, eritque paratissimus) solerti suo ingenio, sagaciq; industria, quandam quæstionem ad hanc ejus academiam Oxon. publicè et solenniter, per doctores et magistros ejusdem disputandam transmisit: viz. *An Romanus episcopus habeat majorem aliquam jurisdictionem, sibi à Deo collatam in sacra scriptura, in hoc regno Angliæ, quàm alius quivis externus episcopus?* Mandavitque, ut habita super hac questione matura deliberatione, et examinatione diligenti, quid sacræ literæ in hac parte nostro judicio statuunt, eundem certiorem facere suo instrumento, sigillo communi universitatis, communito et firmato curaremus. Nos igitur cancellarius, doctores ac magistri prædicti, sæpe reminiscentes, ac penitius apud nos pensitantes, quanta sit virtus, sanctitas, ac nostræ professioni quam consona res, et debita submissioni, obedientiæ, reverentiæ, ac charitati congrua, præmonstrare viam justitiæ ac veritatis cupientibus, sacrarum literarum vestigiis *inserrere, securiorique et tranquilliori conscientia, in lege Dei sacram, ut aiunt, suam anchoram reponere; non potuimus non invigilare, sedulo quin in petitione tam justa ac honesta, tanto principi (cui velut auspicatissimo nostro supremo moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus satisfaceremus. Post susceptam itaque per nos questionem antedictam, cum omni humilitate, devotione, ac debita reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ nostræ academiæ theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus diligentia, justitiæ zelo, religione et conscientia incorrupta, perscrutaremur tam sacræ scripturæ libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius à nobis evolutos, et exactissimè collatos, repetitos et examinatos; deinde et disputationibus

*Leg. insistere.

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solennibus, palam et publicè habitis et celebratis, tandem in hanc sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus; viz. Romanum episcopum majorem aliquam jurisdictionem non habere, sibi à Deo collatam in sacra scriptura, in hoc regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum episcopum. Quam nostram assertionem, sententiam sive determinationem, sic ex deliberatione discussam, ac juxta exigentiam statutorum et ordinationum, hujus nostræ universitatis per nos conclusam, publicè totius academiæ nomine, tanquam veram, certam, sacræq; scripturæ consonam, affirmamus (et) testificamur per præsentes. In quorum omnium et * fidem et testimonium has literas fieri, et sigillo nostræ universitatis communi, roborari fecimus. Dat in domo congregationis nostræ, 27. die mensis Junii, anno à Christo nato M.D.XXXIV.

* Not very legible; but it seems it was *singulorum*.

Number 28.

The judgment of the prior and chapter of Worcester, concerning the pope's authority.

Ordo quidam observandus erga dominum regem Henricum Octavum, &c. et in quali æstimatione habebimus episcopum Romanum.

Copied out of the register of Worcester.

Quum ea sit non solum Christianæ religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, domino regi nostro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni et soli, post Christum Jesum Servatorem nostrum, debemus universa,) non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque animi devotionem, fidem et observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam, præstemus; sed etiam de eadem fide et observantia nostra rationem quotiescunque postulabitur, reddamus, et palam omnibus, si res poscat libentissime testemur. Noverint universi ad quos scriptum præsens pervenerit, quod nos Willielmus, prior ecclesiæ cathedralis sive monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorn' ordinis Sancti Benedicti et ejusdem loci conventus sive capitulum Wigorn' dioc

uno ore et voce, atque unanimi omnium consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillo nostro communi, in domo nostra capitulari dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, omnibus et singulis in perpetuum profitemur, testamur, ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos priorem et conventum, sive capitulum, et successores nostros omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque fidem, observantiam et obedientiam, semper præstaturos, erga dominum regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam reginam, uxorem ejusdem, et erga sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitimè tam progenitam, quam progenerandam. Et quod hæc eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus rex noster Henricus, est caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod episcopus Romanus, qui in suis bullis papæ nomen, usurpat, et summi pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem à Deo sibi collatam, in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum, in ulla sacra concione, privatim vel publicè habenda, eundem episcopum Romanum appellabit nomine papæ, aut summi pontificis, sed nomine episcopi Romani, vel ecclesiæ Romanæ: et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam papa, sed tanquam episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto domino regi et successoribus suis adhærebimus et ejus leges ac decreta manutenebimus. Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et canonibus, qui contra legem divinam, et sacram scripturam, aut contra jura hujus regni esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium, in ulla, vel privata vel publica concione, quicquam ex sacris scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumat: sed quisque Christum, ejusque verba et facta, simpliciter, apertè, sincerè, et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum scripturarum, et verè catholicorum et orthodoxorum doctorum, prædicabit catholicè et orthodoxè. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum, in suis orationibus et comprecationibus, de more faciendis, pri-

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mum omnium regem, tanquam supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et populi precibus commendabit; deinde reginam Annam, cum sua sobole; tum demum archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, cum cæteris cleri ordinibus prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti prior et conventus, sive capitulum, et successores nostri, conscientia et jurisjurandi sacramento, nosmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia et singula prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium, huic scripto nostro, commune sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra nomina propria quisque manu scripsimus. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari, xvii die mensis August. anno regni regis nostri Henrici Octavi, vicessimo sexto.

Then follows an oath made to king Henry the VIIIth, agreeing exactly with that pag. 296. *of the first vol. of the History of the Reformation; except, that the words* alonely *in the second line, and* damage *in the last line but five of that oath, are wanting.*

Illustrissimo et potentissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro, Henrico Octavo, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, defensori fidei, domino Hiberniæ, in terris supremo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo, capiti; vestri humiles subditi, et devotissimi oratores, Henricus Holbecke, prior ecclesiæ cathedralis Wigorn' et ejusdem loci conventus, ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigorniensis dioceseos, reverentiam et obedientiam, tam excellenti et præpotenti principi debitas et condignas, cum omni subjectionis honore. Noverit majestas vestra regia, quod nos prior et conventus memorati, non vi aut metu coacti, dolore, aut aliqua alia sinistra machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis scientiis, animis deliberatis, merisque et spontaneis voluntatibus, pure, sponte et absolute, profitemur, spondemus, ac ad sancta Dei evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illustrissimæ veræ regiæ majestati, singulari et summo domino nostro et patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremo immediate

sub Christo capiti; quod posthac nullo externo imperatori regi principi aut prælato nec Romano pontifici (quem papam vocant) fidelitatem aut obedientiam, verbo vel scripto simpliciter, vel sub juramento, promittemus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, sed omni tempore casu et conditione partes vestræ regiæ majestatis ac successorum vestrorum sequemur et observabimus, et pro viribus defendemus, contra omnem hominem quem vestræ majestati aut successoribus vestris adversarium cognoscemus vel suspicabimur. Solique vestræ regiæ majestati velut supremo nostro principi quem etiam supremum in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo caput agnoscimus et acceptamus, et successoribus vestris fidelitatem et obedientiam sincere et ex animo præstabimus. Papatum Romanum non esse a Deo in sacris literis ordinatum profitemur. Sed humanitus traditum constanter affirmamus, et palam declaramus et declarabimus, et ut alii sic publicent diligenter curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publicè inibimus, quod episcopus Romanus aliquam auctoritatem vel jurisdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam posthac restituatur, ipsumque Romanum episcopum modernum aut ejus in illo episcopatu successorum quemcunque non papam, non summum pontificem, non universalem episcopum, nec sanctissimum dominum, sed solum Romanum episcopum vel pontificem (ut priscis mos erat) scienter publicè asseremus. Juraque et statuta hujus regni pro extirpatione et sublatione papatus ac auctoritatis et jurisdictionis ejusdem Romani episcopi quandocunque edita sive sancita pro viribus scientia et ingeniolis nostris ipsi firmiter observabimus ac pro ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit sic observari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec posthac ad dictum Romanum episcopum appellabimus aut appellari consentiemus: nec in ejus curia pro jure aut justitia agemus aut agenti respondebimus, nec ibidem accusatoris aut rei personam sustinebimus. Et si quid dictus episcopus per nuncium vel per literas significaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citissime commode poterimus, aut vestræ regiæ majestati et vestris à secretis consiliariis, vestrisve succes-

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soribus aut eorum à secretis consiliariis significabimus aut significari faciemus. Nosque literas aut nuncium ad eundem Romanum episcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, nisi vestra majestate conscia et consentiente aut vestro successore quod dictæ literæ vel nuncius ad illum deferentur; bullas, brevia, aut rescripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab episcopo Romano vel ejus curia non impetrabimus, vel ut talia à quovis impetrentur non consulemus. Et si talia pro nobis insciis aut ignorantibus generaliter, vel specialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis renunciabimus et non consentiemus: nec utemur iisdem ullo pacto seu modo. At eas vestræ majestati et successoribus vestris tradi curabimus, omnibusque dicti Romani episcopi concessionibus, privilegiis, largitionibus et indultis cujuscunque naturæ seu qualitatis existant, ac sub quocunque verborum tenore concessæ fuerint, à dicta sede Romana directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani episcopi auctoritate largitis sive consensis quibuscunque publicè et expresse in his scriptis renunciavimus, easque irritas et inanes esse volumus. Et soli vestræ regiæ majestati velut supremo nostro principi et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capiti et successoribus vestris nos subditos et subjectos fore profitemur et nos ac successores nostros subjicimus: et solummodo subditos fore spondemus. Nos eidem Romano episcopo vel ejus nunciis oratoribus, collectoribus aut legatis ullam procurationem, pensionem, portionem censum aut quamcunque aliam pecuniarum summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam personam vel personas solvemus nec solvi faciemus. Statutumque de successione vestra regia in parlimento vestro tento apud Westmon' anno regni vestri 28 ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam et effectum ejusdem fideliter observabimus. Præterea in vim pacti profitemur et spondemus ac sub fidelitate vestræ majestati debita, et nostra coram Deo conscientia, promittemus quod contra hanc nostram professionem et sponsionem, nulla dispensatione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellatione aut provocatione; nulloque juris aut facti remedio, nos tuebimur:

et si quam protestationem in præjudicium hujus nostræ professionis faciemus, eam in præsens et in omne tempus futurum revocamus et eidem renunciamus per præsentes literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus, ac eas sigilli nostri communis appensione et notarii publici subscripti signo et subscriptione communiri fecimus et curavimus. Dat. et act. in domo nostra capitulari XXVI die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millessimo quingentissimo tricessimo sexto, anno regni vestræ regiæ majestatis vicessimo octavo. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne Tyson, Olivero Lloyde, et Rogero Hughes, in legibus et decretis respective Baccalaureis, et Ricardo Bedle notario publico testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et requisitis.

Number 29.

An order for preaching, and bidding of the beades in all sermons to be made within this realm. 1535.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 5. p. 286.

First, whosoever shall preache in the presence of the king's highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beades, pray for the hole catholike church of Crist, aswell quick as ded, and specyallie for the catholique church of this realme; and first as we be most bounden for our soveringe lord king Henry the VIIIth, being ymediately next unto God, the onelie and supreme hed of this catholike churche of England, and for the most gracious lady queen Anne his wife; and for the lady Elizabeth, daughter and heire to them both, our pryncesse, and no ferther.

Item, The preacher in all other placs of this realme then in the presence of the king's saide highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and worde for worde as is above ordeyned and lymyted; adding thereunto in the seconde parte, for all archebishopes and bishopes, and for all the hole clergie of this realme: and speciallie for suche as shall plèase the preacher to name of his devotion; and thirdly for all dukes, earls, marques, and for all the hole temporaltee of this

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realme; and speciallie for suche as the preacher shall name of devocyon: and fygnallie for the soules of all them that be ded, and speciallie of such as it shall please the preacher to name.

Item, It is ordeyned that every preacher shall preach ones in the presence of the greatist audience against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and so after at his lybertee: and that no man shal be suffered to defend, or mayntene the foresaid usurped power: ferthermore to keep unyte and quyetnes in this realme, it is ordeyned that no preachers shall contende openly in pulpet one against another, nor uncharytablie deprave one another in open audience; but if any of them be greved one with another, let them complayne to the king's highnes; or to the archbishope, or bishope of the diocs where such chaunce shall happen, and there to be remedied if there be cause why; and if the complaynt be not trew, the complayner to be punished.

Item, Also to forfende that no preachers for a year shall preach neyther with, nor against purgatory, honouring of saynts, that priests may have wives; that faith onelie justefieth; to go on pilgrimages; to forge miracles; considering these things have caused discension amongst the subjects of this realme alredy, which thanked be God is now well pacyfied.

Item, That from hensfourth all preachers shall purelie, syncerelie, and justlie preache the scripture, and worde of Christe, and not myxe them with man's institutions, nor make men believe that the force of Goddes law and man's law is like; nor that any man is able, or hathe power to dispence with Godes law.

Item, It is also ordened that the declaration of the sentence which hathe ben used in the church four tymes in the year, shall not from henceforth, neyther be published, nor esteemed in any point contrary to the præmynce and jurisdiction royall of our king and his realme, or laws and liberties of the same; and any so doing to be competently punyshed by the bishop of that diocs where it shall fortune him to be, or inhabite: and this thoroughout the realme

and domynyons of our soveraigne, shortlie the bishopes to sett order in. BOOK II.

Item, It is also ordened that the Colects for the preservation of the king and queen by name, be from henceforth comunely and usuallie used and sayed in every cathedrall churche, religious house, and peroche church, in all their high masses thorough out all the realme and domynyons of our king and sovereigne.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that wheresoever the king's just cause of matrimony hath eyther ben detracted, and the incestious and injuste set fourth, or in place where as it hathe not been dilated, that in all those places till the people be fully satisfied and justlie instructe, all manner of preachers whatsoever they be, happenning to come into any such parte of the realme, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere veryte and justnes of this later matrymony, as nigh as their learning can serve them, and according to the trew determynacions of a greate number of the most famous and esteemed universities of Christendom; according also to the just resolution and diffinicyon of both the convocationes of this realme, concurring also in the same opynyon, by the hole assent of parliament, our prynce, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commones of this realme; wherefore now they must declare this matier, neyther doubtful nor disputable, but to be a thing of mere veryte, and so to be allowed in all men's opynyons.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that the foresaid preachers shall also declare the false and injuste handelinge of the bishop of Rome, pretending to have jurisdiction to judge this cause at Rome; which in the first hering thereof did both declare and confesse in word and writing the justnes thereof to be uppon our soveraignes side, insomuch as by a decretall delyvered to the legate here then sitting for the same cause, he did clearly determyn that if prince Arthur was our princes brother, and then of competent age allowed in the law when he maried the lady Katharine, she being so likewise, and that as far as presumptions can prove carnall copulation ensued between them; that these proved, before

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the said cardinales and legates (which in dede were accordingly to the lawes justlie proved) that then the unjust copulacion between our sovereigne and the said lady Katheryn, was neyther lawfull, nor ought to be suffered, and so, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foresaid decretall, the nullite, invaldite, and unlawfulnes of their pretensed matrimony, which was by his law sufficient judgement of the cause; which decretall by his commandment, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinalls; and one which then was here his cubicular, contrary to all justnes and equytee, wherein he hath done our sovereigne most extreme wrong.

Secondly, Contrary to all equite and determination of generall counsailes, he hath called the cause (which ought to be determyned here) to Rome, where our sovereigne is neyther bounde to appere, nor send proctor: and yet hath he deteyned wrongfully the cause there these three or four years at the instance of the other partie, which sued to have it there, because they knowe he durst not displease the emperor, who maketh himself a partie in it, as by the sequele it doth evydentlie appere, and so could our prince gett no justice at his hande, but was wrongfully delayed to no small hinderance, both to his succession, and this his realme, emynente daunger.

Thirdlie, Where it is a naturall defence that the subject ought, and may defende his naturall sovereigne, or master, both in word and deed, and ought thereto to be admytted, this forsaid bishop of Rome, contrary to this equite in nature, hath rejected our sovereigns excusator, contrary both to his own lawes (which he most setteth by) and also Gods law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which cause, and other great injuries, our sovereigne did appeale to the general counsaile; notwithstanding the which, he hath contrary to all justice proceded, *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a general counsaile he is dampned as an heretick; yet thus injuriouslie from the begynnyng hitherto, he hathe handled our princes cause and matier there.

Fourthely, The said bishope of Rome syns our princes appeal, hering of the laws, and acts of parliament which we then went about, and that our king having just ground (the premisses considered) would provide according to his bounden duetie, both for the suretie of his succession and realme, gave out a sentence in maner of excommunycation and interdiction of him and his realme, in which when he was spoken to for the iniquitie and unjustnes thereof by our princes agents, he and his counsaile could nor did otherwise excuse them (the facte being so contrary to all lawes and right) but that the faulte was in a new officer late come to the court, which for his lew'd doing should grevouslie be punyshed, and the processe to cesse. This they promised our princes agente, which notwithstanding was set up in Flanders to the great injurie of our prynce, and for parcyalite to the other parte, as it may well appear by the forsaide sentence.

Fyvethlie, The said bishope of Rome sought all the ways possible with fair words and promises both by his ambassadors and our sovereigns owne, which by any meanes could be invented, to have abused our prynce and sovereigne; which when he saw that by none of his crafts our prince would be no longer abused with them, then sewed he to the French king, to be a mediator between our sovereigne and him: declaring to him and his counsaile that he would gladly do for our sovereigne, allowing the justnes of his cause; so that they would fynd the means that our sovereigne would not proceed in his acts and lawes till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at Marcelles for the fynishing thereof, for at Rome he durst not do it for fear of the emperor. The good French king admonyshed our prince hereof, offering to him to do all pleasure and kyndnes that lay in him in this cause, trusting that if the bishop of Rome came ones to Marcelles, he should give sentence for our sovereigne in his just cause, and therefore prayed our prince to be content with that meting, in which he would labor for it effectuouslie, and so he did: to the which our prince answered, that touching the meting he was content, but

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touching the forbering of making lawes, he prayed his good brother to hold him excused, for he knew well ynough both the crafte and delayes of the bishop of Rome; by which from thencforth he would never be abused: and that likewise he fered that he would abuse his good brother, which so indede after followed; for after he had gotten the maryage of the duke of Orleance, he then promised the French king to give judgment for our maister, so he would send a proxie, which the said bishop of Rome knew well before, that he neyther would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtill ymagynacions, his promise was to the French king, that our prynce sending a proctor, should there before his departure have judgment for him in the principall cause; for he openly confessed ferther, that our maister had the right: but because our prince and maister would not prejudicate for his jurisdictione, and uphold his usurped power by sending a proctor, ye may evydentlie here see that this was onelie the cause why the judgment of the bishop of Rome was not given in his favour; whereby it may appere that there lacked not any justnes in our princes cause, but that ambition, vaine-glory, and to much mundanytee, weare the letts thereof: wherefore, good people, I exhorte you to sticke to the trueth, and our prince according to our bounden dueties, and dispise thes noughtie doings of this bishop of Rome; and charytable pray that he and all others, abusers of Christs worde and workes, may have grace to amend.

Number 30.

Instructions given by the kinges highnes, to his trusty and well-beloved servant William Pagett, one of the clearkes of his signet, whom his highnes sendeth at this tyme unto the kinge of Pole, the dukes of Pomeray and of Pruce; and to the cities of Dantiske, Stetin, and Connynburgh, for the purposes ensueinge. An original.

HENRY R.

Cotton lib. Vitellius, B. 14. fol. 66.

FIRST the said Pagett takeinge with him the kinges high-

nes letters of credence to the princes aforesaide, with the coppies of certeine other bookes and writeings prepared for his dispatch, shall with all diligence, takeing his jorney from hence, repaire unto the said princes, as to his wisdome shall be thought best for the expedicion of his jorney most convenient. After his arrival there, takeing the best opportunity he can for his audience, and deliverie of the kings highnes said letters, with his highnes most harty recommendacions: the said Pagett shall say that the kinges highnes considering not only the olde love, and perfect friendship, which hath now of long tyme been contracted, and by mutual offices of amity, established between his highnes and the said princes; but also the singular affection, and entire zeal, which his highnes by sondry and manifold arguments, hath and doth daily perceive to be in them, to the searchinge, furtheringe, defence, and mainteininge of the sincere truth, and right understandinge of Gods word, and the justice of his lawes, and the extirpacion of such inveterate, old, and corrupt errors, customes, and abusiones, whereby Christes people have bin nowe of longe tyme seduced, and kept more bound, thrall'd, and captive under the yoke of the bishops of Rome, then ever the Jewish people were under the ceremonies of Moyses lawe; his highnes hath sent nowe presently the said Pagett unto the said princes, and to every one of them severally, as aforesaid, to open and declare on his highnes behalf the great desire which his highnes hath, to do all things for his part; whereby not only the friendship may be nourished and encreased, but alsoe the common cause of all Christend men may be reduced to such ende as shall be agreeable to the due order of Christs faith and his precepts, and lawes given unto us by his worde and Spirit, and expressed in his gospell. And for as much as the cheife pointe, and the greatest demonstracion of true friendship, is freindes to communicate and breake friendly each to other, *Et deponere in sinum amici*, the whoal estate of their causes, and what things be pleasaunt and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themselves grieved, wronged, or injuried; the said Pagett shall further say that the kings highnes hath

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given him in commaundment to oppen and declare unto the same severally the whoall progresse of his great and weighty cause of matrimony, with the intollerable wronges and injuries donn unto his highnes in the same by the bishop of Rome, called the pope: and in what termes the same nowe consisteth. And finally by what waies and means his highnes purposeth and intendeth nowe to defende his said most just and right wise cause and to resist the malicious attemptats of the said bishop of Rome.

And for his entry into the matter, the said Pagett shall note and regarde two principall and speciall pointes; that is to say, the justice of the king's cause, and the order and processe which hath binn used therein. And as concerninge the first pointe, the said Pagett shall shewe howe the king's highnes hath so used himself, as no man may lawefully complaine of the same. For as touchinge the justice of his highnes cause, that is to say, the declaration of his marriadge with the princesse dowager to be nought, of noe moment nor effecte; but against the lawe of God's nature and man, and therefore indispensable by the pope, and in no wise availeable; the said Paget shall hewe, howe the king's highnes hath don therein as much as becommeth a Cristian prince to doe for discharge of his conscience: and hath founde soe certaine, soe evident, soe manifest, soe oppen and soe approved trueth therein, as whereunto he ought of necessity to give place, and to allowe and receive the same; not as a matter doubtfull and disputable, but as a plaine and discussed verity, of the true understandinge of God's worde and lawe, which all Cristian men must follow and obey, and to all worldly respecte preferre and execute. In attaininge the knowledge whereof, if his highnes had used his owne particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own naturall subjecte, altho' the same might in his owne conscience have sufficed; yet his highnes would not have much repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent in the same, untill further discussion had bin made thereuppon. But now, for as much as beside the king's owne certeine understandinge, and the agreement of the wholl

clergie of both provinces of his realme, unto the same; his highnes hath alsoe for him the determinations of the most famous universities of Christendom, which be indifferent to pronounce and give sentence in this his cause, and therewithe alsoe the evident wordes of God's lawe; his highnes hath thought himself, in honour and duty to the obligation of God's commandements, obliged necessarily to imbrace and receive the same; and there, by the consent of his nobles spirituall and temporall, and with the singuler contentation, rejoice and comforte, of all his commons and subjecte. And finally, by the judgement and decree of the archbishoppe of Canterbury, most solemply and autentiquely passed in that behalf, hath now, for the discharge of his owne conscience, which was before merveileously greived and offended with the opinion of incest matrimony, and for the avoideinge of extreame dangers of his succession, and the ruyne of his realms, which was by reason thereof imynent and manifestly apparant to insue, divorced and seperated himself from the yoake and bande of that unlawfull marriadge, which was of longe time usurped and continued betwene his highnes and the said princesse dowager, and hath espoused and maried to his lawfull wife, the noble lady, dame Ann marqūes of Pembroke, whose approved and excellent vertues, that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant verginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her sobernes, her chastenes, her meekenes, her wisdome, her discent of ancient right noble and highe parentage, her education in all good and lawefull shewes and manners, her aptnes to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualityes, more to be regarded and esteemed then the only progeny, be of such approved excellency, as cannot be but most acceptable unto Almighty God, and deserve his highe grace and favour to the singular weale and benefitte of the king's realme and subjects. Albeit in caise any objection shal be made hereunto by the said princes, or any of their concill, *de ratione scandali*, by reason that the king's highnes hath not observ'd in all pointes the common order and manner of the pope's lawes, the said Paget shall, thereunto replying and answering, founde

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hujusmodi, si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur, &c.? He may also further say, that the king's highnes knoweth well, that respect is to be had unto the world, and doubteth not but that it is alsoe sufficiently declared and showed by his actes and proceedinges, howe much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but sithence that these thinges, althoughe in their outward visage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concerne the perill of soule, noe man beinge *sinceri et candidi pectoris*, cann arreste any blame unto the king's highnes, in that he hath after soe long travaile, labour and studye, with intollerable coste and charges, without any fruite susteined in that behalf, be inforced and constreyned rather to followe and accomplishe the determination of his own conscience, and the law of the same, consonant and agreeable in this case to the law of God, and therefore superior and excellinge all lawes of man, then to indure in perpetuall sute, and continuall trouble of body and mynde, doeing injurie to nature, and incomparable dammage to his realme; not doeing soe much as in him is, to provide for the same. And to the intente the said Paget may with the more efficacy declare unto the said princes, the ungodly and unlawful demeanours of the pope, in the whoall progresse of the king's highnes said cause, handleing his highnes by the space of vii years, and more, in delayes and dalliance; and how for friendship and justice, he hath alwayes ministred unto him unkindness and notable injurie: by reason whereof, the king's highnes hath binn thus constreined to doe as he hath don: the said Paget shall understande, how that first in the beginninge of his highnes greate cause, his grace beinge daily inquieted and molested with the scruple of incest and unlawefull matrimony, did send unto the said bishop, as unto him which presumed uppon him the title and name of Christ's vicar in earth; and which had the keyes of knowledge and power, to discerne the very worde of God from the worde of man; to the intent that he, according to his office and duty, should have ymediatly dissolved that doubt and scruple, which his highnes in conscience had before conceived, and should have re-

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stored him incontinently to the quietnes and rest of the same. Upon which insynuation, the saide bishop of Rome refuseing to take any knowledge of the kings said cause of matrimony, but would the king should take a commission, and commissioners to be sent into this his grace realme, to whom the said bishop would give sufficient authority, to decerne, knowe, judge and determyne the said cause; then pretendinge, that it might in noe wise by the order of the lawes be intreated at Rome, but only within the king's owne realme. And so he delegated his wholl power to the cardinal Campegius, and the cardinall of York. Giveinge alsoe unto them, one other speciall commission, in forme of a decretall: wherein the said bishop of Rome pronounced and gave sentence, that the king's highnes matrimony was utterly nought and unlawfull; and that therefore his highnes might *convolare ad secundas nuptias;* and the children procreated in the seconde marriadge were lawfull. And in this oppen commission, he gave alsoe unto the said legate full authority to determyne this matter, and to give sentence for the king's highnes; and yet secretly he gave them instructions, to bring the said commission decretall, and not to proceede by vertue thereof, or of any other commission, unto any finall end or sentence, but to suspend and put over the same. And at the time of sendinge of the said commission, he sent alsoe down unto the king's highnes, a briefe written with his owne hande; wherein he did alsoe approve the justice of the king's cause, in like maner as he did in his commission decretall; and promised unto the king's highnes, *quam sanctissimè sub verbo pontificis*, that he would never afterwarde advocate the saide cause out of the realme of Englande, but would suffer it to have the due course and order of intreateinge of the same, within the king's highnes realme; which his sentence and promise notwithstanding, yet the said bishop of Rome, contrary to his own conscience and knowledge, what was the very trueth and justice in the king's highnes cause; and to the intente he might molest and trouble the same, decreed out sundry citations, whereby he would needes inforce the king's highnes to appeare at Rome

in his own person, to the subversion of him, his dignity, and the privileges of his realme; or else to constreine him in the exhibition of a proxie there: the iniquity of both which things is so evident and notable, *ut nulla rerum facie defendi queat.* For it is a common principle of the lawe, *Quoties autem citatus ex privilegio, vel aliqua alia materia, in voce expressa, venire non teneatur, in eo casu nec tenetur aliquam sui copiam facere, neque se, neque procuratorem sistere.* It is also notorius, that the liberties and perogatives of the king's realme, to the observation whereof he is bounde by his oath at his coronation; and that alsoe the priviledges of princes, beinge publique persons, besides other great and urgent causes, doe necessarily let the king's person to appeare at Rome, and lawefully defendeth and excuseth his absence from thence. And besides all this, that his highnes ought not to be cited to Rome; it is enacted by the holy councilles of Nice, of Affrique, and of Melevitan; and it is agreeable alsoe to all lawes, reason and equity, that kings should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's callinge, ne be bounden in a matter of so highe weight and consequence as this is, to sende out of their realmes and dominions, their writeinges, instrumentes, and munimentes, conteyneinge the secretyes of their affaires, or to make and trust a proctor in soe farr distant parts, and in a matter of such gravity and importance, to abide and fullfill that which the said proctor shall agree unto there. And hereunto the said Paget may adde, howe this matter toucheth the dignity of all Christian princes very highly, to suffer themselves to be so yoaked with the said bishop's authority. And that it is tyme for princes, nowe that the same bishop maketh this enterprise uppon them, to inserche and knowe the grounde and bottome of his and their authorities. For what and the pope would cite and call all Christian princes to appeare before him at Rome; that is to say, to cause them to abandon and forsake their owne realmes, and neglect the cure and office committed unto them by God, and to answere there upon such matters, as the pope should for his pleasure object against them? *Esset quidem illud durum; sed tamen si vel-*

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let pontifex, hæc posset facere, qua etenim ratione unum constringere; omnes etiam reges cogere posset: and so it should be always in the pope's authority and liberty, to remove and depose what kings it pleased him from his crowne, and to rule and govern all kingdomes after his own arbitre and pleasure: one other notable iniquity, is also in that the pope by his citation would needs enforce the kinges highnes to appear at Rome; forasmuch as Rome is by all laws a place unlawful, yea, and thereto most suspect and unsure, not only for the kings highnes owne person, being the principale parte, but alsoe for the person of his proctor, if he should send any such thither; and especially for the self cause to be intreated there: now it is a principle in the lawe, *quod citando ad locum non tutum et precedendo index facit inique quia legibus id prohibentibus necnon antiquissimis consiliis et pont' Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus id facit non solum inique sed etiam nulliter facit:* and yet further, the pope not satisfied with these injuries and wronges don unto his highnes, yea, and to justice it self, in manner as is above rehearsed; but being then, and at such tyme as the said citations were published, resident at Rome, one doctor Kerne, the kinges subject, understandinge how his highnes was called there to appeare to one Cappisucchi dean of the rota, to make answer unto the princes dowagers complainte, and exhibiting reasonable causes, and lawful matters excusatory why his grace should not be bound either to appeare at Rome, or to sende a proctor thither; which things he did as the kinges subject, and as one who by law of nature is bounden to defende his kinge and sovereigne lord; and by all laws admitted to alledge that in defence of him that is absent, which in equity ought to preserve him from condemnacion; yet this notwithstandinge, the said Cappisucchi, *idque approbante pontifice*, not regardinge nor consideringe the matters soe by the said doctor Kerne alleadged, but demaunding whether he had any proxie from the kinges highnes for such purpose or noe; the said Cappisucchi, for default of such proxie, (which was not necessary in this case) rejected the said doctor Kerne from the office of an ex-

cusator there, and proceeded in the principall cause: by reason whereof the said doctor Kerne appelled to the pope alleadginge injurie to be don not only to the kings highnes, but alsoe unto himself, for that such matter as he (havinge intereste in) did alleadge was not considered nor regarded, but processe made notwithstanding, to which appellation the said Cappisucchi gave an ambiguous and doubtful answer, promiseinge afterward to open his said answere and sentence more plainely, and to give determinate resolucions therein, which nevertheless he would not doe, albeit he was diverse tymes required and pressed thereunto, but soe passed he the tyme and suddenly returned to processe; whereupon the said doctor oftentimes appealed and put upp again a supplicacion to the pope for the admission of the said appeal, by reason whereof the said matter was reasoned in the signature; where althoughe by noe lawe it woud be shewed why the said doctor Kerne ought not to be admitted to alleage the said matters excusatory in the defence of the kinges highnes; yet they gave their voices there as the pope saide, that doctor Kerne should not be heard without the kinges proxie; whereunto when Dr. Kerne replied, sayinge that whatsoever they decreed or saide, yet there was no lawe to maintayne and bear it: it was answered again by the said bishope, called pope, that he might judge all things after his own conscience. And upon this resolucion, without any other decree given, or at least notified and declared, they proceeded in the principal cause, intendinge by this injurie and wronge, to enforce the kinges highnes to the exhibition of a proxie there, to his high prejudice, and the derogation of the libertyes, and prerogatives of his realme, and to the pernicious example of the like to be done unto other princes in tyme comeing. And althoughe at the same time, the kinges ambassadors there resident, did shewe unto the pope the determinacion of the universities of Paris and Orleance, with the opinions and sentences of the best and most famous learned men of Italy and Fraunce, determyning all with one consent, that these the popes doeinges were meere injuries and wronges, and contrary to his own lawes, wherein

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it is conteined, *Quod pontifex Romanus non potest cogere aliquem principem Christianum ut Romam veniat, ut in causa matrimonii ibidem respondeat. Aut in eorum gratiam procuratorem constituat et quod subditus cujuscunque principis poterit sine mandato et sine satisdatione ejusdem absenciæ sine non comparentiæ allagere et quod debeat ad id admitti: quodque propositis per eundem justis causis absenciæ non poterit contra absentem principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis processus si quis contra eundem factus fuerat, sit jure ipso facto nullus.* Yet he continuynge still in the discussinge and disputacion of the same pointes: and perceiveinge well the kinges highnes adversaries to be in the wronge parte, did still nevertheless rejecte the said Mr. Kerne from the lawfull defence of the kinges highnes, and ceased not to make processe against his grace in the principall cause to the expresse wronge and injurie of his highnes, and soe continuynge still in accumulateinge from tyme to time, new griefes and injuries against the justice of the kinges cause; and sending out very slaunderous griefes against the kings highnes, with diverse other unseemeinge and ungodly demeanors used by him and his ministers in the discousse and doinge of the said injuries. Finally to accomplishe his longe and indurate malice, he decreed and determined to publishe out against the kings highnes, the sentence of excommunication, and soe the kings highnes, being advertised of the said determinacion and purpose, and mynding to use his lawefull and naturall defence of provocation and appellation against the same. After that his highnes had soe made authentiquely his said provocacion and appellation from the pope to the generall councell, which shall be nowe next indicted, and lawefully congrègated; and alsoe caused the same to be intimated unto the pope by one of his subjects, the said pope would in no wise admitte the same, *et deferre hujusmodum appellacioni*, but pretendinge for his defence a certeine bull made by pope Pius, and that he was superior to all generall counsailes, did most arrogantly and contempteously reject the kinges highnes said appellacions, alleadging the same to

be nought; and they were heretiques and traytors to his person, which would appeal from him to any general counsell, or would attempt to doe any thinge whereby his authority should be seene to be inferior unto the authority of generall counsells.

The iniquity of all which thinges beinge thus opened unto the said princes, and sett forth by the said Pagett, with the best perswasions he can devise for that purpose, he shall further shewe unto the same, that thence it is now evidently seene that the said bishop of Rome for the defence of his own corrupt affections of glorie and ambition, regardeth not what injurie he doth to Christian princes, yea, and to abuse and subject so much as in him is, not only contrary to the trueth, but alsoe to the due order both of God and mans lawes, sheweinge himself therein rather to be the child of wrath and discorde, then the imitator and follower of Christ; it shall nowe apperteine unto the office of every good Christian prince on tother side, to have more spirituall regarde to the preservation of their one estate and dignity, and the maintenance of Gods lawes, then they have had in times past. And to study nowe by all means rather to confounde and destroy these presumptions of men, which forge themselves such a throne and power as soundeth greatly to the blasphemy of Christ and his very spouse the church, then to suffer the same any further to encrease.

And forasmuch as the kinges highnes not only for want of justice in his said cause at the popes hande, but also for the defence of those extreme injuries, which the said pope hath enforced unto him and the justice of his cause, and for the maintenance of his estate royal, with the lawes and privileges of his realme, conforme and agreeable to the lawe of God, is nowe utterly determined, havinge God and his word upon his party, to resist and withstand the said bishops malicious attempts and reduce the said popes power, *ad justos et legitimos mediocritatis suæ modos*, so as within this his highnes realme, he shall not be suffered to exercise any other power and jurisdiction, then is granted unto him by expresse scripture. The said Paget shall

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shewe unto the said princes; that the kinges highnes trustinge not a little to their greate vertue, wisdome, and ould amity hath commaunded him not only to open and declare unto the said princes the wholl circumstances of all the premisses, and of what mynd and disposicion the kings highnes is nowe towarde the said pope, and the court of Rome: but alsoe to exhorte and instantly to require the same on the kings highnes behalf, that it shall please them to adhere and sticke with the kings highnes in his said righteous cause to the repaire of the said injuries at such tyme as the same shall be intreated in the general counsell. And in the mean season to give unto his highnes their assistance and best advice how he shall proceede to the accomplishment of his desired purposes, according to such articles, as be written in a certaine scedule and be delivered unto the said Paget, and signed with the kings highnes hand, which he shall also exhibite and shewe unto the said princes; and to every of them, as by his wisdome he shall perceive may be most beneficiall unto the kinges highnes affaires: and to require also the said princes and potentates, that in case there be any articles, causes, or matters in those parties touchinge any abuses, evil customes, or opinions, which for the common-wealth of Christendom, and the maintenance of Gods worde the said prince and potentate, or any of them, shall think necessary and requisite to be reformed and redressed, the said Paget shall say that the kinges mynde and full determinacion is, his highnes beinge advertised of the specialties of the same, either by the letters of the said Paget, or otherwise by letters of the same princes; or by the messengers, servants, or orators of them, or any of them, will not faile, but like as the same his highnes at this time declareth his griefes, and desireth their assistance in this his suit and righteous causes and quarrels, even so likewise his highnes will not only right thankfully and kindly admitte the same causes to his most favourable audience; but alsoe will with all effecte and sincerity to him possible, indeavour himself both to the exturpacion and puttinge away of the said abuses and evil customes soundinge against Gods worde

and lawes, and also further doe that thing that may lye in him for reformacion thereof, and establishinge the good intentes and purposes of the said princes, as most specially may be for the maintenance of Gods word, the faith of Christ, and wealth of Christendome, like as unto the office of a very Christian prince, and the perfectnes of amity and friendship contracted betweene his highnes and the said princes shall apperteine. Finallie, for as much as it is doubtfull of what minde, intention, and purpose, the said princes be or at least some of them, that is to witte, whither they be soe dedicated to the popes devocion, that there is no likelihood of any good success touchinge the kings purposes to be don or gotten at their hande, the said Paget shall first and before the deliveringe of the kings said letters to any of the said princes, and declaracion of this his charge by all dexterity, wayes and meanes to him possible insearch, inquire, and knowe the disposicion and inclinacion of the said prince, and of every of them severally, and soe thereafter accordinge to their wisdomes and discretions to deliver or retaine the kings said letters, with declaracions or without declaracions of their said charge, as to their wisdomes shall be thought most necessary and requisite for atchieveinge of the kings highnes purposes in this behalf.

HENRY R.

Number 31.

Propositions to the king's counsell; marked in some places on the margin in king Henry's own hand. 1533.

An original.

FYRSTE to sende for all the bishops of this realme, and specyallie for suche as be nerest unto the courte; and to examyne them aparte, whether they, by the law of God, can prove and justefie, that he that now is called the pope of Rome is above the generall counsell, or the generall counsell above him? Or whether he hathe gyven unto him by the law of God, any more auctoryte within the realme, than any other foreign bishop?

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6 p. 319.

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2. *Item*, To desire, with all the bishops of this realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the king's people, that the said bishop of Rome, called the pope, is not in auctoryte above the generall counselle, but the generall counsell is above him, and all bishops. And that he hath not, by God's lawe, any more jurisdiction within this realme, than any other foreign bishop (being of any other realm) hathe. And that such auctoryte as he before this hathe usurped within this realme, is both against Godes law, and also against the generall counsells. Which usurpations of auctorite, onelie hath grown to him, by the sufferance of princes of this realme, and by none auctoryte from God.

3. *Item*, Therefore that order be taken, for suche as shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforthe, shall contynually from Sunday to Sunday preach there, and also teache and declare to the people, that he that now calleth himself pope, nor any of his predecessours, is, and were but only the bishops of Rome; and hath no more auctorite and jurisdiction, by Godes lawe, within this realme, than any other foreign bishop hath; which is nothing at all. And that such auctoryte as he hathe claymed heretofore, hath been onlie by usurpation and sufferaunce of prynces of this realme. And that the bishop of London may be bounde to suffer none other to preach at Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach, and set forth the same.

4. *Item*, That all the bishops within this realme be bound and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preached thorough out all their dioces.

5. *Item*, That a specyall practise be made, and a streight commandement gyven to all provyncyalls, ministers, and rulers of all the foure orders of friers within this realme; commanding them to cause the same to be preched by all the preachers of their religions, in and thorough the hole realme.

6. *Item*, To practise with all the friers Observants of this realme, and to commande them to preach in lyke wise; or elles that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no place of the realme.

7. *Item*, That every abbote, pryor, and other heddes of religious houses within this realme, shall in like manner teche theire convents and brethren, to teach and declare the same.

8. *Item*, That every bishop shall make specyall commandements to every person, vicare and curate, within his dyoces, to preach and declare to theyr parochians in lyke wise.

9. *Item*, Proclamations to be made thorough out the realme, conteyning the hole acte of appeles: and that the same acte may be impressed, transumed, and set up on every church dore in England; to the intent, that no parson, vycar, curate, nor any other of the king's subjects, shall make themselfs ignorant thereof.

10. *Item*, The king's provocation and appellations, made from the bishop of Rome unto the generall counsell, may also be transumed, impressed, published and set up on every church dore in England; to the intent, that if any censures should be fulmynate against the king or his realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the censures be of none effecte; considering that the king hathe already, and also before any censures promulged, bothe provoked and appeled.

11. *Item*, Like transumpts to be made, and sent into all other realmes and domynyons, and specyally into Flanders, concerning the king's saide provocations and appellations; to the intente the falshode, iniquite, malice and injustice of the bishop of Rome, may thereby appere to all the world: and also to the intent that all the world may know, that the king's highnes standing under those appeles, no censures can prevayle, nor take any effecte against him and his realme.

12. *Item*, A letter to be conceyved from all the nobles, as well spirituall as temporall, of this realme, unto the bishop of Rome, declaring the wrongs, injuries and usurpations, used against the king's highnes and this realme. Not yet done, ne can well be done before the parliament.

13. *Item*, To sende exploratours and espies into Scotland; and to see and perceyve their practises, and what they in- For to send letters to my lord

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tend there; and whether they will confeder themselfs with any other outwarde prynce.

Dacres, my lord of Norfolk, and sir T. Clifford.

14. *Item*, Certen discrete and grave persons, to be appointed to repair into the partes of Germany, to practise and conclude some lege or amyte with the prince and potentats of Germany; that is to say, the king of Pole, king John of Hungary, the duke of Saxony, the duke of Bavyere, duke Frederyke, the landegrave Van Hesse, the bishop of Magons, the bishop of Treuers, the bishop of Coleyn, and other the potentats of Germany; and also to enserch, of what inclination the said prynces and potentats be of, towards the king and his realme.

In the king's arbitrement.

To know this of the king.

15. *Item*, Like practise to be made and practised with the cyties of Lubeke, Danske, Hamburgh, Brunswyke, and all other the stedes of the Hannse Tutonick; and to enserche of what inclination they be towards the king, and this realme.

16. *Item*, Lyke practise to be made and practised, with the cities of Norimbergh and Aughsbrough.

This is already done.

17. *Item*, To remember the marchiants adventurers haunting the domynyons of Braband, and to speke with them.

The order is taken.

18. *Item*, To set order and establishment of the princes dowager's house with all celerity, and also of my lady Mary's house.

The orders taken.

19. *Item*, A full conclusion and determination, to be taken for my lady princes house.

Number 32.

By the king.

A letter against the pope's authority, and his followers, setting forth their treasons. An original.

HENRY R.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 214.

TRUSTY and right welbeloved, we grete you well. And wher as heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just and vertuouse fundations, grownded upon the lawes of Almighty

God and holly scripture, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergie, as by the nobles and comons temporall of this our realme, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by auctoritie of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome his auctoritie and jurisdiction, of longe time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished and secluded; but also the same our nobles and comons, both of the clergie and temporaltie, by another severall acte and upon like fundation for the publique weale of this our realme, have united, knyt and annexed to us and the corone imperiall of this our realme, the title, dignitie and stile of supreme hed in earthe, immediatly under God, of the church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which things also the said bishops and clergie, particularly in their convocations, have holly and entierly consented, recognised, ratified, confermed and approved autentiquely in writing, both by their speciall othes, profession and wryting, under their signes and seales. So utterly renouncyng all other othes, obedience and jurisdiction, either of the said bishop of Rome, or of any other potentate, we late you witt, that perpendyng and consideryng the charge and commission in this behalf geven unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest and tranquillite, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences, and other wise to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergie of this our realme, should sincerely, truly and faithfully sett forth, declare and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God, and without all maner or culor of dissimulation, hipocrisie, manifest, publishe and declare, the great and innumerable enormities and abuses, which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and stile, as also in auctoritie and jurisdiction, of long tyme unlawfully and injustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christen princes; have not only addressed our letters generall to all and every the same bishops, straitly chargyng and commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach and preach unto the people, the true, mere

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and sincere word of God: and how the said title, stile, and jurisdiction of supreme hed, apperteyneth unto us, our corone and dignitie royall. And to gyve like warnyng, monition and charge, to all abbots, priors, deanes, arche deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curats, scole masters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their dioces, to do the semblable, in their churches, every Sunday and solem feast, and also in their scoles; and to cause all maner of prayers, orisons, rubrics and canons in masse books, and all other books used in churches, wherin the said bishop is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicat, and rased out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name and memorie for evermore, (except to his contumelly and reproche) may be extinct, suppressed and obscured: but also to the justices of our peas, that they, in every place within the precint of their commissions, do make and cause to be made diligent serche wayse and especially, whether the said bishops and clergie do truly and sincerly, without any maner cloke or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them commytted in this behalf; and to satisfie us and our councill, of such of them that should omytt or leave undone any parte of the premisses, or elles in the execution therof, should coldely, fainedly use any maner of synister addition, interpretation or cloke, as more plainly is expressed in our said letters. We considering the great good and furderaunce, that ye may do in these matters in the parts about you, and specially at your being at sises and sessions; in the declaration of the premisses, have thought it good, necessary and expedient, to write these our letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singuler zeale and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithfull and loving harte towards us, as ye woll not only, with all your wisdome, diligences and labours, accomplish all such things, as might be to the preferment and setting forward of Godes worde, and the amplification, defence and maintenance of our said interests, right, title, stile, jurisdiction and auctoritie, apperteyning unto us, our dignitie, prerogative, and corone imperiall of this our realme, woll and desire you, and

nevertheles straitely charge and command you, that laying aparte all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations; and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glorie of God, the right and dignitie of your soveraigne lord; thus tending to the inestimable unitie and commoditer both of your self, and all other our loving and faithfull subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precinct of your commission and auctoritie, whether the said bishops and clergie doe truly, sincerely as before, preach and teach, and declare to the people the premisses, according to their duties, but also at your said setting in sises and sessions ye do persuade, shewe, and declare unto the same people the tenor, effect, and purpose of the premisses in such wise, as the said bishops, and clergie, may the better, not only do therby, and execute their said dueties, but that also the parents, and rulers of families, may declare, teach, and informe their children and servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpacion of the said bishops usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction; for ever shewyng and declarying also to the people at your said sessions the treasons trayterously commytted against us and our lawes, by the late bishop of Rochestre, and sir Thomas Moore, knight, who thereby, and by diverse secrete practises of their maliciouse mynds against us intended, to semynate, engender, and brede amongs our people and subjects, most mischievous and sediciouse opynyon, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others who lately have condignely suffered execucion according to their demerites, and in such wise dilating the same with persuacions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed, established, and satisffied in the truth, and consequently, that all our faythfull and true subjects may therby detest and abhore in their harts and deeds, the most recreant and traiterouse abuses, and behaveours of the said maliciouse malefactors as they be most worthy, and fynding any defaulte, negligence, or dissimulacion in any manner of person, or persons, not doyng his duetie in this partie, ye immediately doe advertise us and our counsel of the defaulte, manner, and facion of the same,

BOOK II.

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lating you witt, that considering the greate moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest, and quietnes of this our realme, yf ye should contrary to your dueties, and our expectations, and trust, neglect, be slake, or omytte to doe diligently your dueties in the true performance and execucion of our mynde, pleasure, and commandment as before, or wold halte or stumble at any person, or specialtie of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, well so punish and correct your defaulte and negligence thereyn, as it shall be an example to all others, how contrary to their allegeance, othes and dueties, they do frustrate and deceive, and disobey the just and lawfull commandment of their soveraign lord, in such things as by the true hartie and faithfull execucion whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and sett forth the majesty and imperial dignitie of their soveraign lord, but allso importe and bring an inestimable unitie, concorde, and tranquillitie of the publique, and common state of this realme: whereunto both by the lawes of God and nature and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden, and therefore fail ye not most effectually, ernestly, and entierly to see the premisses done and executed upon paine of your allegeance; and as ye woll advoyde our high indignacion and displeasure, at your uttermost perills: given under our signet at our manor besids Westminster, the xxvth day of June.

Number 33.

By the king.

A proclamation against seditious preachers.

HENRY VIIIth.

Cotton lib. Jeop. E. 6.

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved cousyn, we grete you well, and where it is commen to our knowledge that sundry persons aswell religious, as secular priests and curats in their parishes, and divers places within this our realme, do dailly asmuch as in them is, sett forthe and extolle the jurisdiction and auctoritie of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called pope,

sowyng their sedicious, pestylent, and false doctryne, praying for him in the pulpyt, and makyng him a god, to the great deceyte, illudyng and seducyng of our subjects, brynging them into errors, sedicion, and evil opynyons, more preferryng the powers, lawes, and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, then the most holly lawes and precepts of Almighty God. We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an unitie and quietnes, to be had and contynued amongs our said subjects, but also covetyng and desyryng them to be brought to a profession and knowledge of the mere verity and truth, and no longer to be seduced, nor blynded with any such supersticious and false doctryne of any earthly usurper of Gods lawes, woll therefore and command you, that wher and whensoever ye shall fynde, perceive, know, or here tell of any such sedicious personnes, that in such wise do spreade, teach, or preach, or otherwise sett forth any such opynions and perniciouse doctryne, to the exaltacion of the power of the bishop of Rome; brynging therby our subjects into error, grudge, and murmurracion, indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to warde, there to remayne without bayl or maynprize, untyll upon your advertisement thereof unto us, or our council, ye shall know our further pleasure in that behalfe: given under our signet, at our manor of Grenewich the XII day of April. BOO II.

Number 34.

A letter of the archbishop of York's, setting forth his zeal in the king's service, and against the pope's authority.

PLEASE it youre highnes to understande, that the VIIIth daye of June, I received by the hands of sir Francise Bygott, your moste honorable letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your highnes is enformed, and so doth take it, that wher as the same your highnes, as well by convocations of your clergies of both provinces, as by your highe courte of parliament is declared the *suppreme hed* in yerthe of the Cotton Cleop. I p. 236.

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church of England, and also by the clergie of the said convocations, it is avowed, that the bishop of Rome by Gods lawe hathe no more jurisdiction within this realme than any other foreign bishope; and therefore ordre taken by your highe courte of parliament, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commens in the same assembled, as well for the unitynge and knittenge of your sayde style and title of *suppreme hed* to your imperiall crowne, as for the abolishement of the saide bishope of Rome's autoritie and jurisdiction, yet I nevertheless, nodre remembring my consent given to the same, by my subscription and profession, signed with my hande, and sealed with my seal, have not done my dewe endevorment to teache the same, nor cause to be taught within my diocese and province; so that the foresaid truths myght be imprinted and rooted in the harts of the ignorant people your highnes subjects, wherefore your highnes commandeth me, not onlie to preache the forsaide things in my person, and also to commande others to preache the same, but also to give commandment in your highnes name, to all maner of prelates and ecclesiastical persons within my diocese and province, to declare and cause to be declared everie Sunday; and therwith to open to the people your highnes just and raysonable cause, moveing the same to refuse and to exclude out of your realm all the jurisdiction and autoritie of the said bishop of Rome; and ferthermore your highnes commandeth me to cause all Collects and places of the masse-booke, wher anie mention is made of the saide bishope of Rome to be rased out, and nodre the sayd Collects, nor any other thing, wherbie the said bishops autoritie is magnified, to be had anie more in use, but to be utterlie suppressed with silence; and besides this, your highnes in the same your most honorable letters, giveth order for scolemasters, how they shall instill and inculke the forsaid trueths into the harts of theyre disciples, to the intent, that so beeing enplanted and rooted in tender aige, they may so allwaise continue. In moste humble maner prostrate, I beseech your highnes to take in good parte my answer. I trust

your highnes is not unremembred, that about this tyme the last year, anoune after my return from your highnes, my lord of Canterburie by your commandment sent to me a booke, wherein was an order for preachinge, and in the same forme devised, as well for preachers as curats, for the beade; in which forme, your highnes style and title of *supreme hedde* is mentioned, and ferther in the same booke, your highnes hath given commandment, that every preacher sholde afore Easter last past ones in solempne audience declare the usurped jurisdiction within this realme of the bishope of Rome, and your highnes just causes to decline from the same; and also to open and declare such things, as myght avowe and justifie your highnes refusall of mariage with the princes doager, and lawfull contract of now with your most dear wife queen Ann, and in the same an order also given for the suppression of the generall sentence; after the recepte of which booke, the Sunday next following, which was then the second Sunday after Trinitie Sunday, I went from Cawood to York, and ther in my own person, declared as well your highnes cause touchinge the matrimonie, as also your refusall of the popes jurisdiction, furnishinge both so at leangth, that I trust that nothing that needed to be opened and spoken, was left unspoken: and to the intent, that I wolde have the thing the more spred abrode, I forthwith upon the recepte of the forsaide booke, sent to York to publishe ther, that I wolde be ther Sundaye followinge, and cawsed the churches to make an order of theyre service, in suche tyme, as everie man myght have oportunities to be at the sermon, and speciallie required the mayer and his bretherne, and your faithfull chaplaine and servants, Mr. Magnus, and sir George Lawson to be ther, and ther and than afore a great multitude, and as it is to be supposed in that multitude werr a great number of sundry parts of the contree, which never lack in that citie, it may be thought ther was the greater number, because it was noysed that I sholde preache, takenge occasion of thees words in the Gospell of that daye, *Uxorem duxi ideo non possum venire*, so I uttered, explained, de-

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clared, and opened both the forsaide matters, and the injuries doon to your highnes by the bishope of Rome Clement, that your saide chapleyne and servants, Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson, thought that the audience was satisfied. These ii bee my witnesse hearin, with a very great multitude besides them, that I nothinge fayne heerin. As for your highnes title of *supreme hed*, I touched not than, for somutche, as no order was given than, but onlie to meke mention therof in the prayors; and it is well known to all that have herde me preache ever sins my first commynge into my diocese, that for more speed of tyme, and more utteraince of mater, I never have made prayours in any sermond, but proceded forward without stope, nor have anie thinge, or not muche, rehersed in Latin, but English it in course, for the same purpose. Also opon the recept of the same booke, furthwith I commanded my officers and others that coulde write, to make out a great number of the saide books, and cause to be delivered to everie preacher within my dyocese a hole booke, chargenge them, to doe according to the instruction therof, and generallie everie curate a booke comprisenge as muche as touched theyre charge, and if he were a preacher, he had the hole. And I assured your highnes, I have not yet herde, but that every one of the said curats foloweth theyre books in everie poynte; and speciallie praye for your highnes as chief hedde of the church, and all other things observe in the same; and yet I have done my diligence to herken and know if it were otherwise. And I doe not know but all the preachers have done theyre duetie; and to the great number of them I spake my selfe, and delivered them books, and charged them. And ferther, I charged all curatts and others, that they sholde suffer no man to preache in theyr churches; to the intent, that all that would preache, should be constrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the forsaid instructions. And never yet anie had licence of me to preache, but he had suche a book delivered hym. To every house of fryars, and other religiouse houses, wher anie preachers werr, I gave books; and likewies to all that

I knewe, or coulde learne to be within my dyocese, with charge that they sholde folow the booke. Whan anie religiouse men came to me for counsell, I told them what I had done, and gave them counsell to doe the same. Of divers sorts have come to me, both Observants and Cartusians and others. Opon Good Frydaye last past, I charged the treasurer of Yorke, that he sholde leave out the Collect *pro Papa*. Lykewies I charged the deacon that songe the hyme *Exultet Angelica*, in the halowinge of the paschall, that he sholde leave out mention therin made *de Papa*. The trueth of all these things may be examined and known, if it shall so please your highnes: by wiche it shall appear, I trust, that I ame not in suche blasme as your highnes imputethe to me; enformed by them, peradventure, that be not my friends. Your highnes somewhat knoweth me. I have been allwayes open and plain, and hidreto I dare avowe I never deceived you, nor herafter shall in any thing that I take upon me, as my lernynge and conscience woll serve. And now, after the receipte of your most honorable letters by sir Francis Bygott, I forthwith caused letters to be made to my lord of Duresme and Carlisle, and to all archedeacons, gevinge to them (on your highnes behalf) streight commandement, to follow truelie and syncerlie theffecte of suche commandements, as your highnes hath given me in your most honourable letters; and have charged all archedeacons to see, that all things, according to the tenor of your saide most honorable commandment, bee done without delaye; and have charged them to deliver books to all curats and others, of the olde instructions, putting to them all that is nowe encreased in these your highnes last most honorable letters: so that I trust, all things shall bee done according to your highnes commandment, with all speed, efficacie and diligence, wherunto I shall hearken. And for my parte, I have (on Sunday last past, which next followed the receipte of your highnes most honorable letters) declared all things comprised in the same; so that, I trust, the audience was satisfied. I caused the citie to be warned afore, and diverse of the contree were

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present. And your faythfull chapleigne and servants, Magnus and sir George Lawson, I specially required to be ther; as in deed they werr, and can reaport what they think therof. Ther werr also present the abbot of Saincte Maries of Yorke, the treasorer of Yorke, sir Francis Bygott; these werr there, your servants and chapleignes, and many others. I trust your highnes shall never fynde in me, but that I promise, I shall fulfill, and all things doe with good haste, that I may doe, at your highnes commandement, God not offended. And most humblie prostrate, I beseche your highnes to be so graciouse, good lord, not to beleive any complaynts of me, afore you have herde my answer. The tyme is now suche, that some men think they doo highe sacrifice, whan they may bring into your highnes displeasure such a poor priest as I am: but I trust in our Lorde, that your highnes dothe not soe take it, and that our Lorde woll continewe your highnes graciouse mynde towards your poore preests and chapleignes; and that he shall sende to them, that cawsleslie provoke the grevouse displeasure of your highnes against our saide preests, better grace hereafter. For which, and for the continuall keeping of your highnes in his governaunce, I shall, as I am most bounde, continuallie praye. From Bishops-Thorpe, the xivth of June 1535.

Your highnes most humble
Preest and beadman,
Edwarde Ebor'.

Number 35.

A letter of Cromwell's to the king's ambassador in France, full of expostulations.

SIR, *August the 23d.*

x MS. ymeri.

AFTER my most hertie recommendations, these shall be to advertise you, that the 17th day of this moneth I receyved from you a packet of letters, which indelayedlie I delyvred unto the king's highnes, and conferred with his grace. Theffecte both of your letters, and all others within

the saide packet, being directed aswell to his highnes as to me. And after his highnes had with me perused the hole contents thoroughlie of your saide letters, perceyving not onelie the lykelyhood of the not repairee into Fraunce of Philip Melanchthon, but also your communications had with the French king, upon your demaunde made of the king's highnes pencions, with also your discrete answers and replications made in that behalf; for the which his majestee gyveth unto you his hertie and condigne thanks. Ye shall understande, that his highnes comaunded me to make you answer in this wise folowing. First, as touching the king's money, his highnes doubtith not, but seeing both the French king, and also the grete mayster, have promised you it shall be depeched; ye will, as the case shall requyre, not cease to call uppon them till it be depeched. And ferther considering, that the said French king, upon youre saide demaunde of the saide pensions, so sodaynelye fell into communication with you, aswell of his frendeship and humanyte shewed to the king's highnes; alledging, that he at all tymes hathe answered for the king's highnes, specially being last at Marcells with pope Clement, with other thyngs, as in your saide letters appereth. As also concernyng the executions lately done here within this realme, the king's highnes not a little mervaileth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of your self ye take some occasion at convenyent tyme and opertunyte to renovate the said communication, both with the French king, or at the leest with the grete maister; saying unto them, that where the saide French king alledgeth, that he hathe at all tymes answered for the kyng's highnes in his cause; and specially to the saide pope Clement at Marcells; affirmyng his procedyngs to be just and upright concernyng the matrymony, as ye do wryte in that. Albeit the king's highnes procedings, in all his affaires within this realme, being of such equyte and justnes of themself as they be, nedeth not any defence or assistence ayenst pope Clement, or any other foreyn power, having Goddes worde and lawes only sufficient to defende him; yet in that that the saide French kyng hathe, as he sayeth, answered

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at all tymes on the king's parte, he hathe don nothing but the parte of a brother, in justefieng and verefyeng the trueth; and so continuyng, shall do as apperteyneth to a prynce of honour, which the king's highnes doubtith not he hath, and will doe only in respecte to the veryte and trewth, besid the amyte betwixt them both justlye requyryng the same. And concerning thexecutions don within this realme, ye shall sey to the saide French kyng, that the same were not so marvelous extreme, as he alledgeth. For, touhing Mr. More, and the bishop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies and practises secretely practisyd, aswell within the realme as without, to move and styrre discension, and to sowe sedicyon within the realme, intending thereby not onelye the distruction of the kyng, but also the whole subversion of his highnes realme, being explained and declared, and so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoyde nor denye it: and they thereof openly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged and condempned of high treason, by the due order of the lawes of this realme, it shall and may well appere to all the worlde, that they having such malice roted in their herts agenst their prynce and sovereigne, and the totall distruction of the comen weale of this realme, were well woerthie, if they had had a thousand lyves, to have suffered ten tymes a more terrible deth and execution then any of them did suffer. And touchinge suche wordes as the saide French king spake unto you, concerning how Mr. More dyed, and what he saide to his daughter going to his judgement, and also what exhortations he should gyve unto the kyng's subjects, to be trew and obedient to his grace; assuring you that there *was no such thing*, whereof the grete master promysed you a double at length: in that the king's pleasure is, that ye shall not onelie procure the said double, and sende it hither, but alsoe sey unto the saide French king, that the king's highnes cannot otherwise take it but verye unkyndly, that the saide French king, or any of his counsaile, at whose hands he hathe so moche meryted, and to whom he hathe mynystered so many grete benefits, pleasures and commodytees, shoulde so *lightly*

gyve eare, faith and credence to any such vayne brutes and lieng tales; not havyng first knowlege or advertisement from the king's highnes here, and his counsaile, of the verite and trewth; affirming it to be the office of a freinde, hering any suche tales of so noble a prynce, rather to have repressed the bruters thereof to sylence, or at the leest not permitted to have dyvulged the same, untill such tyme as the king's majestee being so dere a frende had ben advertised thereof, and the trewth knowen, before he shoulde so lightly beleve or alledge any suche reporte. Which ingrate and unkynde demeanure of the saide French king, used in this behalf, argueth playnly not to remayn in his brest such integryte of herte, and syncere amyte towards the king's highnes, and his proceedings, as his highnes alwayes heretofore hathe expected and loked for: which thing ye may propone and alledge unto the said French king, and the grete master, or to one of them, with suche modestie and sobrenes, as ye thinke they maye perceyve that the king's highnes hathe good and just cause in this parte, somewhat to take their light credence unkyndly. And whereas the saide French king sayeth, that touching such lawes as the king's holynes hathe made, he will not medle withall; alledging it not to be mete, that one prynce shoulde desire another to chaunge his lawes; sayeing, that his be too olde to be chaunged. To that ye shall say, That such lawes as the king's highnes hath made here, be not made without substauncyall grounds, by grete and mature advise, counsaile and deliberation, of the hole polycie of this realme, and are in dede no new lawes, but of grete antiquyte, and many yeres passed, were made and executed within this realme, as now they be renovate and renewed onlie in respecte to the comen weale of the same. And it is not a little to his highnes mervule, that the saide French king ever would counsaile or advise him, if in case hereafter any such like offenders should happen to be in this realme, that he should rather banysh them, than in such wise execute them. And specyallie considering, that the saide French king himself, in commonyng with you at the

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tyme, not only confessed the extreme execucyons and grete bruyllie, of late don in his realme, but also that he now intendeth to withdraw the same, and to revoke and call home agayn suche as be out of his realme: the king's highnes, therefore, the more straungely taketh his saide advise and counsaile, supposing it to be neither thoffice of a frend, nor of a brother, that he wold determyn himself to call home into his realme agayn his subjects being out of the same, for speking agenst the bishop of Rome's usurped auctorite, and counsaile the kings highnes to banyshe his traytours into straunge parts, where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place, and oportunyte to wourke their feats of treason and conspiracie the better agaynst the kings highnes and this his realme: in whiche parte ye shall somewhat engreve the matier after suche sorte as it may well appere to the saide French king, that not only the kings highnes might take those his counsailes and communications, both straungely and unkyndely, thinking the same not to procede of mere amyte and friendship, but also using such polycie and austeryte in proponyng the same with the said French king, and the grete maister, taking such tyme and oportunyte as may best serve for the same, as they may well perceyve the kings highnes proceedings here within the realme, both concerning the saide execucyons, and all other things to be onely grounded uppon justice and the equyte of his lawes, which be no new lawes, but auncyet lawes made and established of many yeres, passed within this realme, and now renovate and renewed as it is aforsaide, for the better order, weale, and suretie of the same. And ye may ferther say, that if the French king and his counsaile well consyder, as they ought to do, that it were moch better to advaunce the punyshment of traytours and rebells, for their offences, then to ponyshe such as do speke agenst the usurped auctoryte of the bishop of Rome, who daylie goeth about to suppresse and subdue kyngs and princes, and their auctoritee gyven to them by Goddes worde; all which matiers the kinges pleasure is, that ye shall take tyme and occasion, as ye talkkyng agayn with the French king, or the grete maister may

declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: adding thereunto such matier, with such reasons, after your accustomed dexteryte and discression, as ye shall thinke most expedient, and to serve best for the kings purpose, defence of his proceedings, and the profe of the French kings ingratitude, shewed in this behalf; not doubting in your wisdom, good industrie, and discrete circumspection, in thordering and well-handelling of the same accordinglie.

And touching Melanchton, considering there is no likelehod of his repayree into Fraunce, as I have well perceved by your letters; the kings highnes therfore hathe appointed Cristofer Mount, indelaiedlie to take his journey where Melanchton is: and if he can, to prevente mounsieur de Langie in suche wise, as the said Melanchton his repayree into Fraunce, may be stayed and dyverted into England, not doubting but the same shall take effecte accordinglie.

And as to Mr. Heynes, the king's pleasure is, that he shall go to Parys, there to lerne and dissiphre the oppynyons of the lerned men, and their inclinations and affections aswell towards the kyngs highnes procedings, as to the bishop of Rome his usurped power and auctoryte, after such sorte as the kings saide highnes hathe now wrytten to hym, by his gracious letters addressed both to him, and the saide Cristofer Mount; dyrecting them what they shall do in all things comytted to their charge at this tyme, as I doubt not, they will put there unto their devoires for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure as apperteyneth. And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discression in the proponing of the premisses to the French king, and the grete master, or the one or both of them, using the same as a medecyn, and after such sorte, that as nere as ye can, it be not moch displeasantly taken, advertesing the kings highnes from tyme to tyme of the successes therof; and of all other occurraunts as the case shall require. I shall for this tyme bid you most hertelie farewell, &c.

Thornebery the 23d day of August.

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The engagement sent over by the French king, to king Henry, promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his first, and in justifying his second marriage.

Paper Office.

FRANCISCUS Dei gratia Francorum rex Christianissimus, omnibus et singulis presentes lecturis et audituris salutem. Non honoris solum nostri, verum etiam officii et pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, sed etiam fidem, autoritatem, gratiam, et studium omne nostrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe charissimi, et de nobis optimè meriti, injuria justitia etiam et veritas negligantur. Hinc est quod cum serenissimus et invictiss. princeps Henricus Dei gratia Angliæ rex, fidei defensor, dominus Hiberniæ, et secundum Deum, supremum in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ caput, charissimus frater ac consanguineus et perpetuus confederatus noster, vigore cujusdam dispensacionis a bonæ memoriæ Julio papa, illius nominis secundo, cum nobili muliere Catherina, preclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi et Elisabeth Hispaniarum regum, filia, ac preclaræ memoriæ illustris principis Arthuri, dicti sereniss. regis Henrici fratris naturalis et legitimi, relicta, matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, et ex eadem in eodem pretenso matrimonio, filiam adhuc superstitem Mariam nomine susceperit, cumque idem serenissimus rex dicti incesti matrimonii conscientia motus, à prefata domina Catherina diverterit, ac justissimis gravissimis que de causis, nobis etiam satis cognitis et perspectis, ad id inductus, matrimonium cum clarissima et nobilissima domina Anna nunc Angliæ regina, rite, legitime et realiter inierit, contraxerit, et in facie ecclesiæ solemnizaverit, et preclarissimam dominam Elizabeth Angliæ principem ex eadem et in eodem matrimonio procreaverit, et susceperit, cumq; preterea super illius dispensationis et matrimonii viribus ac justicia, necnon super dictæ dominæ Mariæ legitimitate et natalium defectu, multæ gravesque questiones subortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac in judicio et veritate discutiendis, nos bene multis argumentis perspeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) equitatis rationem ab ipso pontifice Romano habitam fuisse; et multa

sive temporum iniquitate sive hominum vitio contra omne jus phasque in premissis et circa ea definita. Voluimus in hac causa tam gravi integerimos quosq; regni nostri viros, ac non modo in sacra theologia peritissimos, verum etiam juris ecclesiastici callentissimos consulere: quibus etiam mandavimus ut quid in tota hac causa secundum Deum et conscientiam sentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque responderent. Quoniam his autem habitis prius inter dictos eruditissimos viros matura deliberatione, diligenti examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium et singulorum unanimi sententia et conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, et plene intelleximus, non solum quod dicta dispensatio fuit et est omnino nulla, inefficax et invalida tam propter surreptionis et obreptionis vicia, quam propter alias causas, maxime vero propter potestatis in dispensante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod matrimonia cum relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis contracta, sint de jure naturali et divino prohibita, nec Romanus pontifex nec ulla alia humana potestas possit dispensare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut consistant; verum etiam quod prefatum matrimonium inter dictum charissimum fratrem nostrum ac prefatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut prefertur contractum, fuit et est incestum, ac prorsus nullum, ac etiam contra sacrosancta Dei percepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam divina quam humana usurpatum, quodque proinde dicta domina Maria in eodem pretenso matrimonio ut prefertur, suscepta et procreata, ad omnem juris effectum spuria et illegitima proles, ac ex illicito et incesto coitu genita fuit et est, sicque ab omnibus reputari, censeri, et haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum matrimonium quod idem charissimus frater noster cum dicta clarissima domina Anna Angliæ regina contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum: quodque dicta illustris domina Elisabeth Angliæ princeps ex eodem matrimonio, suscepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem matrimonio, divina bonitate in posterum suscipienda, legitima fuit et est, eritq; et esse debet. Ac deniq; cum non solum multi ex reverendissimis

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Romanæ sedis cardinalibus inter quos imprimis fuit cardinales ille quondam Aucomtanus, verum etiam nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens papa Septimus, ex certa et deliberata animi sui sententia, cum nobis ipsis Marsiliæ tunc existentibus, tum alias sæpe oratoribus nostris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis sue oraculo confessus sit, et expresse declaravit se sentire, dictam dispensationem et matrimonium cum dicta domina Catherina contractum, fuisse et esse nulla prorsus, et de jure invalida, quodque eadem sic fuisse et esse per suam sententiam definitivam seu finale decretum, declarasset, pronunciasset, et definivisset si privati quidam affectus et respectus humani non obstitissent. Nos igitur Franciscus Francorum rex antedictus, ut justum veritati suffragium ferentes, simul et justissimæ charissimi fratris nostri causæ patrocinemur, notum facimus et in publicam testationem deduci volumus, per presentes, quod nos primam quidem dictam dispensationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut predicitur emanavit, nullam prorsus ac minus validam, et ex dictis causis inefficacem irritam et inanem fuisse semper, et esse, deinde ipsum matrimonium quod ejusdem dispensationis virtute cum dicta domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, incestuosum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali juri et divinæ contrarium fuisse et esse, ac pro incestuoso, nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere: denique dictam dominam Mariam ex eo matrimonio ut premittitur susceptam, prorsus illegitimam et ad succedendum in paterna hereditate prorsus inhabilem fuisse et esse, et pro tali haberi censerique debere, reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus. Similiter reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus quod matrimonium illud quod idem serenissimus rex et charissimus frater noster, cum prefata illustrissima domina Anna contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum, et quod proles ex eodem matrimonio suscepta seu suscipienda, maxime autem dicta clarissima domina Elisabeth nunc Angliæ princeps ex eisdem ut prefertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet. Quodque non solum

omnia et singula quæ dictus serenissimus rex et charissimus frater noster, pro confirmando et stabiliendo hujusmodi matrimonio suo quod cum præfata illustrissima domina Anna Angliæ regina contraxit, necnon predictæ dominæ Elisabeth filiæ suæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc matrimonio procreabuntur, legitima et hereditaria in regnum suum successione, statuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, justissimis fundamentis innitantur et subsistant, verum etiam quod omnia et singula sententiæ, censuræ, decreta, alii quicumque processus et judicia contra præmissa, ac eorum occasione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcunque judicem, sive aliam autoritatem quamcunque facta, edita aut promulgata, aut imposterum edenda, ferenda, facienda sive promulganda, sint ipso jure nulla, irrita, injusta et iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, et censeri debere certo credimus, constanter attestamur, censemus, asserimus, et affirmamus per presentes. Promittimus insuper in fide ac verbo regio, ac sub hypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum patrimonialium et fiscalium, necnon bonorum subditorum nostrorum, etiam in forma contractus Garenticii paratam executionem habentis, obligamus nos, heredes et successores nostros, dicto serenissimo Henrico charissimo fratri nostro, heredibus et successoribus suis, quod nos hanc animi nostri sententiam, et judicium, quod super præmissis nos habere vere et ex animo declaravimus, semper et ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus et singulis futuris synodis, aut conciliis generalibus, et coram quibuscunque judicibus, necnon apud et contra omnes homines; quicunque eidem sententiæ nostræ quacunque ratione adversabuntur, cujuscunque autoritatis, preeminenciæ aut dignitatis, etiam si supremæ fuerint, per nos ac nostros subditos quoscumque, tam in judicio quæ extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac si opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus justificabimus: nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore imposterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem sententiæ nostræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus, moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis imposterum cujuscunque

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autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis est, permittemus, quod in irritationem, enervationem, prejudicium, aut in contrarium huic nostræ sententiæ cedat, aut cedere possit quovismodo. In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

Marked on the back, thus:

Instrument of Francys the First, king of France, whereby he justifieth the mariage of king Henry the VIIIth with queen Anne, and declareth the invalidity of the former with Q. Catherin, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation.

In another place, on the back, and with another ancienter hand, (I believe, Cromwell's:)

An instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highnes fyrst mariage, and the validyte of the seconde.

Number 37.

Cranmer's letter to Cromwell; justifying himself, upon some complaints made by Gardiner. An original.

RIGHT worshipful, in my moste hartie wise I commend me unto you, most hartely thankyng you, for that you have signified unto me by my chapleyn master Champion, the complaynte of the bishope of Wynchester unto the king's highnes, in two thyngs concernyng my visitation. The one is, that in my stile I am written, *Totius Angliæ primas*, to the derogation and prejudice of the king's highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the church. The other is, that his dioces (not paste five yeres agon) was visited by my predecessor, and muste from hensfurthe paye the tenth parte of the spiritualties, accordyng to the acte granted in the last session of this parliament; wherfore he thinketh, that his dioces shuld not be charged with my visitation at this tyme. Fyrste, as concernyng my stile, wherin I am named *Totius Angliæ primas*. I suppose, that to make his cause good, (which els in dede were nawghte) he doth myxe

it with the kyng's cause, (as ye knowe the man lacketh neither lernyng in the lawe, neither witty invention, ne crafte to sett furth his matiers to the best) that he myght appere not to maynteyne his own cause, but the kyng's; agaynst whose highnes, he knoweth right well, that I may maynteyne no cause; but gyve place, and lay both my cause and self at my prince's feet. But to be playne, what I think of the bishope of Winchester, I cannot persuade with my self, that he so much tendereth the king's cause, as he dothe his own, that I shuld not visite him: and that appereth by the very tyme. For if he cast no farther, but the defence of the king's grace's authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the matier, before he receyved my monytion for my visitation; whiche was within four myles of Winchester delyvered unto hym the 24th day of April last, as he came up to the court? Moreover, I do not a litle marvaile why he shuld now fynde faute, rather than he did before, whan he took the bishop of Rome as cheff hedd: for though the bishope of Rome was taken for supreme hedd, notwithstanding that, he had a great nombre of primates under hym; and by having his primates under hym, his supreme authoritie was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the kyng's highnes, beyng supreme hedde, have primates under hym, without any dymynyshing, but with the augmentyng of his said supreme authoritie. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the bishope of Winchester knoweth as well as any man lyving, that in case this said stile, or tytle, had byn in any poynt impedment or hinderance to the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not, but all the bishopes of England, would ever gladly have hadd the archbishop's both authoritie, and the title taken away, that they myght have byn equall together; which well appereth by the many contentions agaynst the archbishops, for jurisdiction, in the courte of Rome; which had ben easily brought to pass, if the bishops of Rome had thought the archbishopes titles and stiles to be any derrogation to their supreme authority. All this notwithstandyng,

PART III. yf the bishops of this realme passe no more of their names, stiles and titles, than I do of myn; the kyng's highnes shall sone order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my stile were agaynst the kyng's authoritie (wherunto I am specially sworne) I would sew my self unto his grace, that I myghte leave it; and so wolde have don before this tyme. For, I pray God never be mercyfull unto me at the generall judgement, if I perceyve in my hert, that I sett more by any title, name, or stile that I write, than I do by the paryng of an apple, farther than it shall be to the settyng furthe of God's worde and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herin, for God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I my self: but I speake forsomuch as I do fele in my harte, for many evill affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any juste thyng, at the pleasure and sute of the bishop of Winchester, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me, than he is. Even at the begynyng furst of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desyred *gerere primatum in ecclesia*, as saith St. John in his last Epistell. And syns, he hath had more successours than all the apostles hadd, of whom have come all theis glorious titles, stiles, and pompes into the churche. But I would, that I, and all my brethren the bishopes, wold leave all our stiles, and write the stile of our offices, callyng our selves *apostolos Jesu Christi*: so that we toke not upon us the name vaynly, but were so even in dede; so that we myghte ordre our dioces in suche sort, that neither paper, parchemente, leade nor wexe, but the verie Christian conversation of the people, myght be the letters and seales of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whome he said, *Literæ nostræ, et signa apostolatûs nostri vos estis.*

Now for the seconde; where the bishope of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessour, and the tenth parte now to be paid to the kyng. Truth it is, that my predicessour visited the dioces of Wynchester, after the decesse of my lord cardynall, as he did all other dioces (*sede vacante*); but els I thynke it was not visited by none of my

predecessours this forty yeres. And notwithstandyng that, he hymself not considering thair charges, at that tyme charged them with an newe visitation, within lesse than half a yere after; and that agaynst all righte, as doctour Incent hath reported to my chancellour, the clergie at that tyme paying to the kyng half of their benefices in five yeres, whiche is the tenth parte every yere, as they paid before, and have paid syns, and shall pay still for ever by the laste acte. But I am verie gladde, that he hath now some compassion of his dioces, although at that tyme he had verie smale, whan he did visite them the same yere that my predecessour did visite. And also other bishops, whos course is to visite this yere, kepe thair visitation, (where I did visite the laste yere) notwithstanding the tenth parte to be paid to the kyng's grace. Howbeit I do not so in Wynchester dioces, for it is now the third yere syns that dioces was visited by any man, so that he hath the leste cause to complayne of any bishop, for it is longer syns his dioces was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the matter, the charge of the late acte graunted, it is no more agayuste me, than agaynst all other bishops that do visit this yere, nor makyth no more agaynst me this yere, than it made agaynst me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if ther were true men, in accomptyng and paying the kyng's subsidie, they are no more charged by this newe acte, than they were for the space of ten yeres past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, Yf my saide lorde of Wynchester's objections shuld be allowed this yere, he myght (by such arguments) both disallowe al maner of visitations that hath be down thes ten yeres past, and that ever shall be don hereafter. Now I pray you, good maister secretary, of your advice, whither I shall nede to writte unto the kyng's highnes herin. And thus our Lorde have you ever in his preservation. At Otteforde, the xiith daye of Maye.

Your own ever assured

Thomas Cantuar'.

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Number 38.

A letter of Barlow's to Cromwell, complaining of the bishop and clergy of St. David's.

ton lib. pp. E. 4-07.

PLEASETH your good mastership, with compassion to advertise the complaynt and unfayned peticions of your humble oratour, disquietly vexed without cause or any pretenced occasion, motioned of your said oratour's parte: whereas the queen, of her graciouse bounte, advouched me not unworthy the priorship of Haverford West, under her grace's foundation, syns the tyme of my ther continuall residence; consideryng the hungry famyne of heryng the word of God, and desolate scarcete of true preachers, I have endeveryd my self, with no small bodily dainger against Antichrist, and all his confederat adherents, sincerely to preach the gospell of Christ; whose verite, as it is invincible, so it is incessantly assailted of faithles false perverters; by reason wherof, they which of dutie ought to fortifie me in mayntenyng the truth, maliciously have conceiv'd a malevolent mynde, causles to maligne against me in such wise, that I was forced (from their tyranny) to appele unto the kyng his honourable councills; as plainly apperith by the untrue, surmised articles, falsely contrived by the Black Freer of Haverford West; which thoughe I presented to your mastership, as the act of his onely doing, yet was it the mayntenans of the bishop, and his ungostly spirituall officers; which is evident by the reward of the bishop to the freer, at his departyng allso by his letters directed to Mr. Dean of the arches, and to doctor Huys, diligently to sollicite that I myght be suppressed in my just matter: and where they sithe perceive that (praise be to God) under the favour of your righteouse equite, they cannot prevaile against me as they willfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertayne to me, troblyng them with tyranny for my sake, no such tyranny deserving. As, where of late I sent a servant home about certain busines; immediatly after his comyng, the bishop's officers ascited hym to apperance, ransacking his house, forced him to deliver such books as

he had; that is to say, an Englishe Testament, the Exposition of the vth and vith chapters of Matthew, the Tenn Commandments, and the Epistle of Saynte John; violently with holding them with vehement reproches, and clamorouse exclamations against heretikes: as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresie, to no litle dismaying and ferefull discomfort of the sincere favorers of God's word. Moreover, they charged in the kyng's name, the maire of Tynby, in payne of fyve hundreth markes, to put in warde the said poore man, his wiff, and a certain honest widdowe of inculpable fame, with whom they were at host, laying certen articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake, and after most shamefull rumors raysed upp to their dyffamation, with slanderouse wonderment of the towne, all crayfty means assayded to bryng in false witnes, when no accuser would appear openly; as a true certificat under the towns seal, largely doth testify; the above mencyoned officers without any charitable satisfaction to the said parties wrongfully imprisoned, badd the maire do with them as he listed; and so thens departyng made their advaunt in places where they came of their valyant actes against hereticks, meaning thereby the favourers of Christs gospell: in consideration wherof, it may please your singular goodnes to provide a redress, that from the terrour of such tyrannes, the kings faythfull subjects, your porre oratoures maye peaceably live according to Gods lawes, without any suche unchristen empeschment, and combrose vexations.

Furthermore unfayndly to assertain your maistership in what perilous case greatly lamentable the kings faithfull subjects, the poore resians in the dioces of Saynt David, your suppliant oratours are miserably ordered under the clergy, requireth a farre larger processe then here maye conveniently be comprised: for though we have semblably to other dioceses, in outwarde auctorite and exterior ceremonies a bishope, a suffrigan, archdeacons, deanes, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers, intitled with spirituall names; also a multitude of mounks, cannons, freers, and secular

RT pristes, yet among them all, so many in number, and in so
II. large a dioces, is there not one that sincerely preacheth Gods word, nor scarce any that hartely favorith hit, but all utter enemys ther against, whose stubborne resistence cannot last without froward rebellion against the kings graciouse actes established upon the verite of Gods word. And concerning the enormous vices, the fradulent exactions, the mysordered lyving, and heathyn idolatry, shamefully supported under the clergies jurisdiction; which by sequele of theyr blynd willful ignorance, do consequently follow, no dioces, I suppose, more corrupted, nor so far out of frame, without hope of reformacion, except your lordship shall see a redresse, in in whom under the kyngs grace, the trust of all those that meane well onely consistyth. Fynally theyr abused fashiones at length to discover at your commandment; I shall be ready with such certeute of truth, that no advirsary shall be able to make contrary denyall; which so performed, it may then please your good mastershipe to licence me to departe, under the lawfull favour of your protection; without the which, neither can I without perell repair home, nor there in safte contynue, among so odiouse adversaries of Christs doctrine, by whose tyranny, that I may not be unjustly opprest, I most humbly beseeche your assistant aide, howbeit no farder then the write of scripture will justifie my cause; nether for no carnall commodite of any worldly preferment, but all onely for the advancement of Christs gospell, to the honour of God, who evermore graciously presearve your mastershipe in honourable felicite.

Your humble oratour

William Barlo, prior of Haverford-West.

Number 39.

A letter of D. Legh's, concerning their visitation at York.

To Mr. Cromwell, chief secretary.

on lib. p. E. 4. 4. RYGHT worshipful sir, my dewty pre-supposed, this is to advertise you, that master doctor Layton and I, the XIth

day of January, war with the archbishop of Yorke, whom we according to your pleasure and precepts have visyted: injoyning him to preach and teach the word of God (according to his bownd dewty,) to his cure committed unto him, and allso in the knowledge concerning the prerogative power the kings grace have, and to see others here in his jurisdiction being induyd with good qualities, having any respect either to Gods goodnes, vertue, or godlines, to performe the same, injoyning moreover to him to bring up unto you his first, second, and third foundations, wheruppon he enjoyeth his office, and prerogative poore, with the graunts, privelegis and concessions given to him, and to his see apperteyning; the which whan that you have red them, and knowe in all points the hole effect of them, I doe not doubt, but that ye shall see and rede many things worthy reformation. By the knowledge whereof, I suppose the kings highnes and you will be glad, and do think it mete that every bishope war in likewise orderyd: then shuld they, them under the governances edifye much in Christ in his doctrine and teachings: and then the poor ignorante persons now by blindnes and ignorance sedusid, might therby be brought to light and knowledge, wherby they should profit muche, the welthe of their own soules, and the commynaltye: and it should be greatly expedient to the conservation of their fidelite toward their prince, and to his graces succession now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have enformed your mastership of our acts and deeds, done to a good ende, as our opinion serve us, that shall lie in your circumspecte prudencye and wisdom to order all things, as ye shall think to your approved discretion most mete, and to the farderans of the glory of God, and preservation of the common wealthe, most expedient and necessary. For in the same jurisdictions given heretofore either augmented or diminished, to be ministred to their bishops as wall be thought to your wisdom most convenient; I do not dowght but it shall be much profitable, and commodious both to the kings highnes, and to your mastership, as knoweth God, who ever

PART III. preserve your mastership. From Yorke the xiiith day of January.

Yours ever assured,
Thomas Legh.

Number 40.

A letter of Tonstall's upon the king's ordering the bishops to send up their bulls. An original.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 246. RIGHT honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your good mastership. Advertising the same, that I have of late receivd a letter from master doctor Layton, declaring unto me that ye willyd him to write unto me, that albeit the kings highnes hath directed his letters missives to all and singular his bishops in this his realme, to appere before his grace immediately after the feast of the Purificacyon next cominge, to the intent that they shall deliver up unto his graces handes all their bullys of confirmation, or such other like, as they have had from Rome at any time heretofore; yet his grace consideringe my late departure thens, for my more ease and quietnes, is well content that I make mine abode here, so that I write unto his grace a letter, therin declaringe that I will be content to doe as other bishops do in this behalf, and to gife up into his handes all suche bullys as his graces pleasure is to have of me. Advertising me further, that your mastership, as my great frende hath promised to the king, that I will accomplishe the kings desire and pleasure herin: for whiche your most great kindnes not only shewed unto me many times hertofor, but allso nowe renewid at this time, with making of such assurance for me to the kings highnes I most humbly thanke your mastership. Advertising the same, that forasmuch as I could not perceive by any part of master Layton's letter to what intent the kinges highnes wold have the said bulles delivered into his handes; and if in my letter to be written unto his grace I shuld mistake his entent, I shuld not only therby offende his grace, which I would be as lothe to doe as any

subject within his realme, but also make him to be dipleased with my kinsman, that so blindly had written unto me, and paradventure with your mastership for usinge him for your secretary in this behalf: considering with my self the hole effect of the same, better to be to have my bulles into his hands, thought that most best to send up the said bulles there to be ready to be delivered at his graces will and pleasure: humbly beseechinge your mastership to move the kings highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lord unto me, and to consider if I shuld nowe in my age leif my bishoprich, which I trust his grace of his goodnes meanith not to make me to doe, by demandinge of my bulles to be delivered into his handes, that shuld not only disapoint me of my liffinge, but many other my servants his subjects, that have their liffinge only by me, who if I shuld leve my promotion shuld be thereby destitute of succour; which being my speciall trust that his grace of his inestimable goodnes will have respect unto, and that my mind herein, not to lefe my promotion, is neither ambiciouse nor unreasonable, nor contrary to his graces entent, I have sent up the said bulles there to be redye, whiche thinge sens that is more then I was willed to doe by master Layton's letter. I have forborne to wryte unto his grace that I wold do that, seinge I do indeed accomplishe his graces pleasure. Praynge humbly your mastership upen advertisement geffen to the kings highnes, hereof to know his will and pleasure what he will have to be done, and the same so knowne to declare unto this bearer William Redmayn, who therupon shall deliver the said bullys into your hands, or to whom the kings grace will appoynt to receyve them, yf the kings will and pleasure be to have them. Which I doe undoubtedly trustinge that the kinges highnes will be as good to me, as he is to other bishops of his realme beinge in like case, seinge I had them by him, and did renounce all things conteynd in them contrary to his prerogative royall, at suche time as I presented to his grace his bull unto him, as that will appere by the othe of my homage remayninge with the said bull in the kings records now beynge in your keeping, as all bishops

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ever have been accustumyd to doe by the laws of this realm heretofore used. The bulls that I do send remayning in my handes concerning my bishopryche be v. in number, the other were delyvered to whom they were directed: one to the kings highnes, an other to my lord cardinall, then being my metropolitan, whose soul God pardone, an other to my late lord of Rochester to take my othe to the bishop of Rome, which I think was sent up to Rome with the othe as hathe been accustomyd to be done. And so those that I nowe send did remayne still in my handes. And other bulles then these have I noon, humblye beseeching your mastership in all mine affayrs to be good master unto me, and to be meane unto the kings highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lorde unto me, and I shall according to my most bounden dewty, daily pray for the preservation of his royall estate longe to endure; and likewise I shall contynewe daily beedman to your mastership, whom Almighty Jhesu preserve in long life and good healthe to his pleasure and yours. From Aukelande the xxixth day of January;

Your mastershipes humble beedman

Cuthbert Duresme.

Number 41.

A letter of the archbishop of York's, concerning the suppression of the monasteries.

otton lib. leop. E. 4. 239.

RIGHT honourable, after my hertiest commendation. According to your request made to me in your letters, I have furthwith upon the receipte of the same, sent commandement to certayne monasteries for beeing with me to Yorke, where I was than; and now I have given commandement to all archdeacons, to warne all monasteries, of less yearly value than two hundred pound, being within their archdeaconries, that they shall nothing imbecille, ne alien: and if they have, that they shall agayne call such things aliened, or imbecilled, to their hands. Some that were noted to have received some goods of suche monasteries, I called and warned, that they shold in no wiese meddle with any such

goods; and that if they had any such, that they shold restore them: and ferthermore, if any such goods shall be offred to them, that they shold give me warning. And forbicause most resorte for such propose is to the citie of Yorke, I have warned the majour of Yorke, and other of his brodren thereof, and speciallie the maister of the mynt, upon their peril and daunger, that they receive no goods of my such monastries. And ferther herin I entend to do from time to time, as I shall see nede, and daily do warn such as do resort to me, that they meddle not with any such goods, that by them this commandment may be the more published, as I trust it shall be now by the archdeacons officials, which be nowe all abrode, and have speciall commandment to sett furthe this propose.

Sir, I entierlie pray you to be good to me, for two places of the patronaige of the archbishopps of Yorke, that if you shall thinke opon such considerations as I shall alledge, that I have reason to sue for them, as you woll help me with your good word, that they be not suppressed. The one of them named Saincte Oswaldes, is not of foundation a monasterie of religious men, but is *libera capella archiepiscopi.* No man hathe title in it but the archbishop: the prior therof is removable at my pleasure, and accomptable to me; and the archbishoppe may put ther, if he woll, seculer prestes, and so would I have done at my entre, if I had not ther found one of myne acquayntance, whom I judged meete to be there under me. And moreover, the archbishops of Yorke had it given to them by William Rufus, in exchange for recompense, as well of lands as jurisdiction, taken from them at the coming in of William Conqueror, as appereth in my registres, and other old books. And in the same it appereth, that the said chapell enjoyeth all privileges, like as all other the kinges free chapells; for it was some tyme *libera capella regia:* and for the defence of the said privilaiges, and jurisdiction ther, my predecessours have alwaies had writts from the king, agaynst all disturbers; because it is no other but *libera capella,* and some tyme was the kinges.

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The other is called Hexham, upon the borders of Scotland, and was some tyme *sedes episcopalis;* and many holie men, some time bishops, ther be buried in that church, saincts of name. And wise men, that knowe the borders, think, that the lands therof, although they were ten tymes asmuch, cannot contrevaile the damaige, that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. And some waye, there is nevar a house between Scotland and the lordshipp of Hexham; and men feare, if the monasterie go down, that in processe all shall be waste muche within the land. And what comfort that monasterie is daylie to the contre ther, and speciallie in tyme of warre, not onlie the contre men do knowe, but also many of the noble men of this realme, that hath done the king's highnes service in Scotland. I dout not, but that the land of that monasterie is better than two hundred pound by year; as likewise the archbishop's lands war much better if they laye in a quiet place. Some of my predicessours have had ther 1300 marcs by year, and now it is (*communibus annis*) undre 250. I entierlie pray you, if you think that I have reason, send for these two, that you woll help me to save them. And as for Hexham, I think it is necessarie to be considred, as (I think) they that knowe the borders woll saie.

Sir, According to the king's commandment, I have generally given commandment, that no prechers shall be suffred, that withoute discretion preche novelties, and (as you right wiselie consider'd) do rather sowe seeds of dissention, than do any good: and some such as I have heard to use such preaching, I have discharged; and yet they preach: but I make processe agaynst them; and some of them say, they will get licence of the kyng to preach. If they obteine any such licence, I then am discharged for them that have such licence. But I trust, that you woll suffer no such licence to pass, but that I shall knowe therof: and what your pleasure is than, if they preach such novelties, I pray you I may know by this bearer. Some say, they have licence of my lord of Canterbury; but, I trust, they have no such: and

if they have, none shall be obeyde here, but onlie the kyng's and yours. And this in my hertiest maner. Fare you well. From Cawed, the xxiiid of April 1536.

Your own ever assured

Edward Ebor'.

Number 42.

Instructions for sending Barnes, and others to Germany. An original.

MASTER secretary, after our most hartie commendations, ye shall understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the king's majestie; his pleasure thereupon was, that we shuld dispatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concernyng the accomplishment and doing of these things ensuing. First, his grace's pleasure, that you shall immediatly (upon the receipt herof) despech Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany; commanding him to use such diligence in his jornaye, that he may and it be possible, meet with Melancton before his aryvall in France: and in case he shall so meet with him, not only to dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that will not grante unto the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this parte all persuasions, reasons and means, that he can devise, to empech and let his said jornay thither; laying unto him, how much it shuld be to his shame and reproch, to vary and go nowe from that true opinion wherin he hath so long contynued; but allso, on the other side, to persuade him all that he may, to convert his said jornay hither, shewing as well the conformitie of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobilitie and vertues of the king's majestie, with the good entertaynement which undoubtedly he shall have here at his grace's hands. And if percase the said Barnes shall not meet with him before his arryvall in France, then the said Barnes proceeding himself forth in his jornay towards the princes of Germany, shall (with all diligence)

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 330.

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returne in post to king's highnes the said Deryk, with advertisement of the certaintie of the said Melanct cummyng into France, and such other occurrants as he shall then know. And if the said Deryk be not now redy to go with him, the king's pleasure is, that ye shall in his stede, appoint and sende such one other with the said Barnes, as you shall think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shall arrive with the said princes of Germany, the king's pleasure is, he shall (on his grace's behalf) aswell perswade them to persist and continue in their former good opinion, concerning the deniall of the bishop of Rome's usurped autoritie, declaring their own honour, reputation and suretie, to depende therupon; and that they now may better mayntain their said just opinion therin then ever they might, having the king's majestie (one of the most noble and puissant princes of the world) of like opinion and judgment with them; who having proceeded therin by great advise, deliberation, consultation, and judgments (of the most part) of the great and famous clerks in Christendome, will in no wise relent, vary, or alter in that behalf. Like as the said Barnes may declare and shew unto them, by a book made by the dean of the chaple, and asmany of the bishops sermons as you have. Whiche booke you shall receive herwith: the copie wherof, and of the said sermons, you must deliver unto the said Barnes, at his departure, for his better remembrance, and just occasion. To whom also his grace's pleasure is, you shall shew as muche of master Wallop's letter, (which we send you also again) as you shall see drawen and market with a penne in the margent of the same. As also exhorte and move them, in any wise to beware, how they commit any of their affaiers to the order, direction, or determination of the French king, considering he and his counsell be altogether papist, and addict and bent to the maintenance and conservation of the bishop of Rome's pretended auctoritie. Furthermore, the king's pleasure is, ye shall uppon the receipt herof, immediatly cause Mr. Haynes, and Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France, to sir John

Wallop, in as secrete maner as they canne; as commyng like his friend to visit him, and not as sent by the king. And in case they shall (by him, or otherwise) lerne and know that Melanchthon is there arryved; then his grace woll, that the said Haynes and Mount shall (in such sort as they be not much noted) reasorte unto him: and for the desuading of the contynuance there, or the alteration of his opinion, and the alluring of him hither, to use suche reasons and persuasions as be before written, with suche other as they canne further devise for that purpose. To the which Haynes and Mount, the king's pleasure is, ye shall delyver like copies of the said dean's book, and bishop's sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melanchthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the atchievement of the king's purpose in that behalfe.

Ye shall allso understande, that the king's pleasure is, ye shall write to sir John Wallop, and send unto him therwith like copies; willing him, in case he shall have certain knowledge that the articles be true, (written in these his letters) concernyng the French king's sending into Germany, for the contynuance of the bishop of Rome's pretended supremacy; to repair with the said copies to the French king; and not only to set the same forth, with such reasons as he canne devise in that parte, shewing, how much it shall be against his honour, both to give himself subject to the said bishop, and to move other to do the semblable; but allso to declare unto him, that the king's highnes (remembring his old frendly promises, concernyng the mayntenance of his cause, and of his proceedings touching the same) cannot but think it a little strange, that the said French king (seeing his majestie hath, in his doings touching the said bishop of Rome, moved neither his, nor any prince's subjects) will move and styr the Germaynes, to condesend uppon a contrary opinion, both to themselfs, and to his grace in this behalfe: and that his majestie must nedes think his amytie muche touched in that he shulde move any state or contrey, to do that thing which is so much against the king's highnes and his own promise, using all

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the wayes he canne to disuade him from the dishonorable obedience of the said bishops, soe moving him to inclyne to the kings just opinion touching the same.

Finally, the kings pleasure is, ye shall write an other letter to the bishop of Aberden, signifieng that the kings majestie taketh it very unkindly that the king his nephew wold now embrace without his advice or counsail, being his derest freinde and uncle, and now in leage and amytee with him, the marriage of M. de Vandoms daughter, wherunto he would give non eare at his graces overture hertofor made of the same; in your said letter, imputing a greate negligence therin to the said bishop, and other of his masters counsail, seeing their master sheweth not, in the doing therof, suche amytie towards the kings highnes as the friendship between them doth require: and to make an ende, his grace woll in no wise that Barnes, or Haynes, shall tary for any further instructions of the bishope of Cantorbury, or any other, having his grace determyned to sende the same after, by Mr. Almoner and Hethe; but that he, Mr. Haynes, and Mount, shall withall possible diligence departe immediately in post, without longer tarieng thenne for this their dispatche shall be necessary, soe as their abode empeche not the kings purpose touching the said Melancton: and thus fare youe most hartly well, from Langley in much haste, this Monday at iii of the clock, at after noone.

Your lovyng friend
T. Norfolk.
George Rocheford.

Number 43.

The Smalcaldick league.

ɔtton lib. leop. E. 6. 303.

By the grace of God, we John Frederich duke of Saxony, high mareshall of the empire of Rome, and prince elector, lantgrave of Truringie, and marquis of Misne, aswell in our own name, as in the name of the noble prince John Ernest, likewise duke of Saxonye, our most beloved brother, Philippe, Ernest, Francis, brethren dukes of Bruns-

wick and Lunenburg; Ulrich duke of Wortenberg, and in Deck, erle in Montbelyard; Philipp lantgrave of Hessen, erle of Catts in Dietz, Zigenham and Nyer; Berminus and Philip, dukes of Stetin, Pomern, Cassaburn, Wenden, princes of Rug, erles in Guskan; Wolfgang John, George, and Joachim, brethren princes in Anhalt, erles of Ascanion, and lords in Bernburg; Gebhard and Albert, brethren, erles and lords in Mansfeld; the consules, decurions, tribunes, senate, and people of the within named cities of the High-Germany, Saxon, and Hanse, or on the see, that is to say, Argentina, Augusta, Frankford, Constantia, Ulme, Ealing, Rentling, Memingia, Linde, Bibrac, Isua, Magdeburgh, Breme, Brunswick, Goslaria, Hamibria, Gottingia, Embeck, Hamburgha, Lubeck, and Myndia, do profess by these our letters, in the name of us, our heyres and successors, and do signifie to all men that seen the state of this season, is every where very perillouse, and appereth so, that many men are about and practise to disturbe, such as do cause, and suffer the syncere doctrine of the gospell to be preached and taught in their dukedoms, provinces, cities and territories, (by the grace of God) and which (abolishing all abuses) doe studie to bring in ceremonies consenting to the word of God: and efforce them selfs to divert them from Christs doctrine; yea, by force and violence: and seen also that the office of every Christian magestrate, is not only to suffer that the syncere worde of God be preached to his subjects; but also with all his studye, care, and sollitude to provide (to his power) that the holesome doctrine of the gospell and the truth, onse known and professed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the same: for this cause, we doe knowledg that it is our most duetie and necessitie, of the offices of our magestrate, in case nowe or hereafter it shuld happen, that any man wold attempt and assay to diverte us, or our subjects, by force or dede, from the worde of God, and the truth known; and to bring in again, and restore the ungodlie ceremonies and abuses already abolished (which God by his good clemence woll forbyd, as we trust that no man woll attempt such thing)

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for to represse such violence and perill from the bodys and souls of us and our subjects, by the grace of God, and for to excuse and avoid the same to the praise of God, to the augmentation of the syncere doctrine of the gospell, and to the conservation of the uniform estate, tranquillite, and honestie publick, in the empire, for the love of the nation of Alemayne; and also for the commendation, honour, and good of our dukedoms, provinces, lordships, and cities, onely to provide for the cause of our defence, and tuicion; the which is permitted to every man, not onely by the lawe of nature and of men, but also by the law written. Therefore we have assembled and concluded, to give and be bound eche to other of a Christian, lawfull and friendly leage and confederation, and by the vertue, fource, and reason of this our letters, we agree, conclude, and bynde our selfs eche to other upon a confederation, with the conditions that followeth, that is to say, that all and every of us shall be bound to favour eche other hartely and truely, and to warn eche other of all imminent danger, and to avoid it: and that noon of us, openly, or secretly, shall willingly give passage to the enemy, or adversaries of the other, nor to warn, or support them.

And because this confederation is onely made for cause of our tuicion and defense, and not to the entent that any of us shall move warr, if ther shall happen any of us whatsoever he be, to be violently assawted for the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell and our faith, or for such other causes as do depend of the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell, or our faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other pretext or colour, there shuld be any violence attempted against any of us, and that we the rest, which shuld not then be invaded myght thinke and judge that such werr, or violence, shuld be moved for the cause of the word of God, or of the religion; and that he to whom the werr, or violence is imminent, wold permitt it to our knowledge, arbitracion, and deciseon; that then we all the rest of this confederacion, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Christen confederacion shall be bound to

take no lesse to herte, and take in hand as deligentely to provide for the same, incontinently as such persons that be invaded, shall require our help, or that we shall knowe it, (with all our power) as though we shuld be assawted our selfs, and for our own proper cause: and therefore without any delaye, and without any decepte or gyle, without taryeng for any other, with all our might and power, we shall be bound to succour, defend, and helpe him that shall be assawted, after such form and manner, as for the qualitie and circumstances of the thing, and the tyme it shall be adjudged most util and most commodiouse to the rest of us; and like as the fidelite and charite to be given and shewed to the neighbors upon his conscience and salut shall teach him, and that we shall truely administer and deale oon with another. And that in such case never oon of us shall agree, compound, or make any transaction, or trewes without the assent and will of the rest.

Also that this our Christen confederation shal be taken and understanden to be in no wise prejudicial or hurtfull to the emperors majestie, our clementissime lord; nor to any state of the empire, or any other: but onely for the conservation of the doctrine and truth of the gospell, and of the peace and tranquillite in the empyre and Alemayns nation, and to withstand wrongfull violence from us and our subjects and allyes; and onely in case of defence, and in such case as every of us may bear and suffer the just knowlege and decision of his own cause as is aforesaid, and none other wise; and if any man wol be joyned to this our confederacion, which is not comprehended in it already, so that he be dedicate to the worde of God, and shall permitte the syncere doctrine of the gospell, conformable to our confession, exhibited to the emperors majestie, and to all the orders of the empire in the assemble at Augsburg, freely to be preached, tought, and kept in his lands, province, and dominions, and woll constantely styck to the same doctrine, he or they ought to be ascribed and receyved in this confederacion, by the assent and will of us all.

And bycause that Christen confederacion, which shall be

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finished the Sunday *invocavit*, the year of our Lord 1537, hath lasted the other 6 years last past, between us, excepted us Ulrich, duke of Wertemberg, &c. and us Bernim and Philipp, dukes of Pomeren; us John, George, and Joachim, princes of Anhalt; and the cities of Augsburgh, Frankford, Kempt, Hamibra, and Mynda; we, at their friendly and diligent peticion, have receyved them into this our confederation, and we do bynde our selfs eche to other agyn, that this Christen leage shall be proroged and extended, begynning from the said Sunday *invocavit*, 1537, by the space of ten yeres next ensuyng, as this Christen leage by the ten yeres next ensuyng, ought to be kept and proroged constantely, syncerely, and *bona fide*, by us and every of us, without any frawde, or malign.

And if it shall happen us to entre werre with any man for the doctrine of the religion, or any other cause depending of the same, that shuld not be finished within the space of the said ten yeres, yet nevertheles, although the said time of ten yeres be utterly expired, yet the said expedicion shall be contynued and prosecuted, and the werre brought to an ende; and that then it shall not be lawfull for any of the confederates to exempte him of the same, nor hope upon exemption, and from that tyme it shall be lawfull for the confederats to protract and prolong this confederation, if they shall so think good.

We the foresaid electors and princes, erles and magistrats of cities by interposition of our feith insteed of an other, do promise and take upon us, for us, and for our heires constantly and perpetually to observe and performe all and singular the premisses truely and syncerely as it behoveth princes, and good men. And that we shall nor doe, nor procure any thing in any wise to be done against this leage and confederation: but in all points shall deale and procede truely and syncerely without any frawde or malengin. And for more credence and confirmacion of all and every those things, every of us the said electors, princes, erles, and cities, in the name of us our highnes and successors, have caused our scales wittingly and willingly to be sett to these presents,

which have been given the yere of the Nativite of our Savyor Jesus Christ, 1536. BOOK III.

Number 44.

Propositions made to the king, by the German princes.

The peticion and request of the right noble princes, duke John Frederike, elector of Saxe, and Philip the lantgrave of Hesse, to the most noble kyng of England; exhibited at Smalcaldia, to the most reverende bishop of Hereford, and other the ambassadors of the kyng's most royall majestie, upon the present day of the Natyvite of our Lord, anno Dom. 1536.

1. *Item*, THAT the said most noble king wolde set fourth the evangelie of Christe, and the syncere doctrine of the faith, after such sort, as the princes and states confederates have confessed in the dyet of Angusta, and the same defended, according to their appologie and purgation made: except parcase some things therin shall seme, by the common assent of the said most noble kyng, and the said princes, necessarie to be changed or reformed by the word of God. Paper-Office.

2. *Item*, That the saide most noble king, joyning with the said princes and stats confederats, wold maynteyne and defende the saide doctrine of the evangelie, and the ceremonys conforme to the same, at the future generall counsaill, if it shall be pious, catholique, free and mere Christien.

3. *Item*, That neither the saide most noble king, without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederats, nor the same princes and stats confederats, without the express consent of the saide most noble king, shall assent nor agre to any indiction or appoyntement of a generall councill, which the bishop of Rome, that now is, or hereafter shall be, or any other, by whatsoever pretended auctorite, doth, or shall make and appoynt: nor yet shall consent to any place, where the future generall counsaill shall be had, nor to the counsaill it self; but that all those thyngs may be ordered and done, by the mutuall assent and counsaill of the said

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most noble king and princes confederat. Provided nevertheless, that if it shall appere certeynly, by just arguments and reasons, such a Christien, free, generall counsaill, to be indicted and appoynted, as the confederats, in their answer to the bishop of Rome's ambassador, named Peter Paule Verger, do desire, that such a councill be not to be refused.

4. *Item*, If it shall happen that (the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederats, not agreeing upon the place, nor the indiction of the counsaill) the bishop of Rome, and other princes conjoyned with hym in that cause, will nevertheless procede to the celebration of a counsaill, or rather of the appoyntment of the place wherunto the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederat shall not agree; that then, and in that case, aswell the saide king, as the said princes and stats confederat, shall chieflie (to their power) endevor and compass, that the same indiction may be utterly avoyded, and take noon effecte.

5. And furthermore, that they shall make, and semblably procure to be made, by their clargy, their publick and solempne protestacions, wherby they shall testefie and declare, both the synceryte of their faith, and also that they do utterly dissente from such maner of communication and indiction; and that they will not be bounde to the decrees or constitutions of the same counsaill, (if any such counsaill do folowe in dede) nor in any maner of wise obey the same herafter.

6. And also, that they shall not at any tyme obey, nor suffer to be obeyed by any of theirs, any decrees, mandats or sentences, bulles, letters, or brieffs, which shall procede, or be fulmynate from such a counsaill, so indicted and celebrate eyther in the name of the bishop of Rome himself, or of any other potentate whatsoever; but shall have and repute all such maner of rescriptes, decrees, bulles and breves, as voyde, inane and frustrate; and shall declare, that so they ought to be reputed and taken. And allso for the remotion of all slaunder, shall procure their bishopes and preachers, to declare the same to the people really, and with effect.

7. *Item*, That the said most noble king, like as by the grace of God he is associated to the said princes and stats confederat in the doctrine of Christ, and the defence of the same; so also he woll vouchesauf, upon honourable conditions, to be associate unto the leage of the same princes and stats, so as his most noble majestie may obteine the place and name of defensor and protector of the said leage.

8. *Item*, The neyther the said most noble king, nor the saide princes and stats confederat, shall knowledge, maintain nor defend, at any tyme herafter, that the primacie, or that the monarchie of the bishop of Rome, may at this day take place, or ever shall, by God's lawe; nor shall consent nor graunt, that it is either utile or expedient to the comen welth of Christendom, that the bishop of Rome shuld have preemynence afore all other bishops, or in any maner of wise have any jurisdiction at all, in the realmes, kyngdoms, or domynions of the saide king and princes.

9. *Item*, If it shall happen, that war, or any other contencion, either for the cause of religion, or for any other cause besides this cause, shall be inferred or moved against the said most noble king, his realmes, domynions or subjects, by whatsoever prince, state or people, or also against the said right noble princes or stats confederat: that in that case, neither of the said parties shall give ayde, helpe, nor socours against the other partie, nor shall assist the prince, nor the people so invadyng, or movyng warre, neither with counsaill, helpe nor favour, dyrectly nor indirectly, prively nor apertely.

10. *Item*, That the said most noble king would vouchsaufe, for the defense of the said leage and most honest and holie cause, to conferre to and with the said princes, giveing suretie (as within is added) to lay fourth and contribute one hundreth thousande crownes. Which money, it shall be lawful to the confederats to use and employ wher nede shall be, in cause of defense, for the moytee or halfe parte therof. The other moytee they shall take of the same money, which they have leyd fourth, and contributed to the same sum.

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11. And if need shall be of contynuall and dayly defence, for the contynuance of the warre, or invasion of adversaries; in that case, forasmuch as the princes and confederates be not only bound unto ferther collacion and contribucion of money, but also to the mutuall defence with their bodies and goods; it may please the saide most noble king, not to be greved in so urgent a cause of necessity, also to contribute more, that is to say, two hundreth thousande crownes: which money, nevertheles, for the halfe parte, the confederates may employe together with their own money. And if it happen the warre to be soner ended, then that that shall remain, shall be justly reserved, and (the tyme of the confederation fynyshed) shall be restored to the saide most noble kinge.

12. Which if the said most noble king woll do, the princes do promyse themselfs, with their sufficient sureties, to assure not onlie that they shall not convert this money to any other use, than to the defence of the leage and cause of religion, together with their owne money which they in such a confederation do contribute, but also that entirely and faithfully, they shall paye and restore unto the said most noble king the same summ, which either when ther shall be no need of defence, or (after the defence) shall remain and be left, in case it shall not be employed to that use.

13. *Item*, That for as much as the ambassadors of the said most noble king shall now for a tyme remayne in Germanye, and with the lerned men in holy letters, dispute and commun of certeyn articles; the princes do desire, that they woll shortly inquire, and knowe their most noble king's mind and resolution, in the conditions of the said leage; and when they shall be certefied, to signifie the same unto us the elector of Saxe, and lantsgrave of Hesse.

14. Which when they have done, the princes will send in their (and the stats confederats names) ambassadors to the said most noble king, and amongst them one excellently learned, not onely to conferre with his royall majestie upon the articles of Christ's doctrine, and to deliberate upon the ceremonies, and other things in the church, to be changed,

ordered and reformed, but also to comment and conclude upon all the articles, of the which we have spoken with the king's most royall majesty, in the name of the confederats. BOOK III.

Number 45.

The answer of the king's most noble majestie of Englande, to the peticions and articles lately addressed to his highnes, from the noble prynces, John Frederike duke of Saxe, elector, &c. and Philip lantsgrave van Hesse, in the names of them, and all their confederates.

1. THE said most noble king answereth, That his majestie will, and hathe of long tyme mynded to set fourth the evangelie of Christe, and the trew syncere doctrine of the same, out of which springeth and floweth our trew faith, whiche to defende he is most redy both with life and goods; but to say, that he being a king reckened somwhat lerned, (though unworthy,) having also so many excellent well lerned men within this realme, thinketh it mete to accept at any creature's hands, the observing of his and his realmes faith, thonlye grounde wherof remayneth in scripture, surely he doth not; and requiereth his entier frends herewith not to be greved: but his highnes is right well contented, and much desireth, that for unyte in faith and articles, to be made uppon the same, it wolde please his saide confederats and frends, to sende hither some of their best lerned men, to conferre and conclude, with him and his lerned men, to the intente to have a parfaite concorde and unyon in faith amongst us. In which his highnes doubteth not, but at such tyme as when their deputs shall come, they shall fynde the most towardnes in the king, and in his realme. Paper-Office.

To the seconde, his highnes answereth, That he is content to employ himself, joyntly with the said confederats, in all generall counsailes, they being *catholici et liberi, in loco etiam omni parte tuto*, for the defence of their mere and trew doctryns of the gospell, according to their desires. But as touching the ceremonies, there may be different

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rites, and such dyversite used in dyvers domynyons, *fere per totum mundum*, that it will be harde to conclude anye certentie in them. Wherfore his highnes thinketh it mete, that the order and limitacion of them, shoulde be left to the arbitrees of the governours of everye domynyon, supposing that every of them can tell what is most comodious for his owne domynyons.

To the thirde, his majestie answereth, That he is contented, that neyther his highnes, (without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederate) nor the same princes and stats confederate, (without the express consent of his highnes) shall assent nor agree to any indiction of a generall counsaile, or to any generall counsaile, which the bishop of Rome that now is, or that hereafter shall be, or any other by whatsoever pretended auctorytee, doth, or shall make, enter, presume, or begynne, or cause to be made, entered, presumed, or begon, but that they neyther shall consent to any place of the future counsaile, nor to the counsaile selfe, except it be by their mutual consents, assented and agreed unto; provyded nevertheless, that if it shall appear certenly by just arguments and reasons both to his majestie, and the said confederats, that a Christien free counsaile may be indicted, *in loco etiam omni parte tuto*, that then that counsaile shall not be by him, or them, refused.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th articles, his highnes is content to accept in every point, according to their own devises.

To the 7th, his grace answereth, That he doth moste fully accepte their good overture therein, by the which they declare their good inclynacion and hertie good will towarde his highnes; nevertheles, his majestie desireth them to take in good parte, that he doth not accepte the saide name and place, till he be throughlie agreed with them uppon the articles before rehearsed; which ones agreed on, his highnes entendeth most thankfully to accep the same.

The 8th article, his majestie is content to accepte according to their own desire.

9th, Also his highnes agreeth, so that they woll adde

therunto, that in that case of warre, neyther partie shall suffer or permytte any of their subjects, or servants, to serve them, that in such wise shall by any warre molest any of them.

To the 10th, his majestie answereth, That for the warres already by past, he being in no confederacion with them, thinketh it very strange, and somwhat unreasonable, that they should of his highnes require any ayde or assistence; but in case that this confederacion now spoken of do take effecte, and that the contynuance of warres seme to be necessary, by their mutual consents, for the supporting of their faith against their adversaries; and therefore the confederats being allso bound to contrybute for their parts, every man for his porcyon as shall be thought necessary amongst us; his highnes will be content for his parte, in declaracyon of his loving harte to them, to contribute 100000 crowns, the tyme, and place, and facion, for the employment of the same, ones bytwen his grace and them agreed on: provyded that in case that eyther there shall be no warre made to any of the parts for the same; or that it shall be sooner ended then shall be looked for, that then the hole, or that part left and remayning, shall be fully and trewly *bona fide* restored unto his highnes, whensoever he shall demaunde or require the same.

The 11th, his majestie doth accepte according to their owne offer.

The 12th, his highnes also agreeth unto.

To the 13th, (*Two lines torn out*) agreed unto the most part of the articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all speed and diligence, send hither their ambassadors plenaryly instructed to comon, agree, and conclude with his majestie in all things that shall be comoned of, and treated betwixt his highnes and them.

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Number 46.

The answer of the king's ambassadors, made to the duke Saxon, and the landgrave of Hessie.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 104.

FIRST, that his highnes, aswell by his ambassadors, as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things; the one is their gratitude and benevolence towards his majestie, and that they desire the continuance between their progenitors inviolably observed to be increased: the other is not only thair great constance in the setting forth of the trueth of the gospell that was darkened afore, but allso that they exhorte his grace to the defence of the same, which be most acceptable to his highnes, and thanketh them aswell for his behalfe, as allso for the behalfe of all Christendom, knowleging the greate benefite of God, in giving the sayd princes such stedfastness and strength; and that his majestie willed to be shewed unto them that their wondrouse vertues have so ravished and drawn his mind to thair love, that his highnes feled a greate encrease to thair unitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to passe the occasion, without correspondence of love, nor any occasion that he shall think may conduce in any wise to their good myndes, and godly proceedings, and for to declare his minde to the articles of your peticion.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th articles do please his majestie well ynough; and although there be some things in them, that his grace would grante easely to no manner princes, were they never so greate; yet nevertheles his highnes for his affection towards them, thinking that they meane nothing ells but the reformation of the church, which his majestie for his parte desireth much, and desireth to joyne with them in the same; in these articles his majestie desireth that only the 3d and 4th article be more ampley declared, that is to say,

The 3d article by these wordes, *Item*, that nether the kings highnes without the assent of the princes and stats confederate, nor they without his graces assent shall agree to the indiction of any counsaile, that the bishop of Rome, that now is, or any other whatsoever auctoryte may pre-

tende: and that also nether of the said parties shall agree uppon the place of a councile to be had, without the agreement of the other expressely to be given, but that the same be done by the mutuell assent of his grace, the said princes and estats. Provided nevertheles, that if all they shall perceive a lawfull and Christien free concile to be indicted in some sure and indifferant place, that then nether of them both parties shall refuse the saide concile.

To the 9th article his highnes wold have added, that nether of both parties shall permitt any of their servants, or subjects, to be in solde against the other part, nor to helpe directly, or indirectly, such as wolde invade, or entreprise against them.

As to the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th articles, his grace answered, to the 10th his majesty sayeth, that he doubteth not but the said confederats do well think and know, that his grace is moved in his mind by no more private necessitie, that he or his realm have, nor any private profite to joyne with the said confederats in leage and defense, for he and his realme is in good peace: and knoweth not that the bishop of Rome, the emperor, or any other prince pyketh any quarrel with him, and that much lesse warre; and allthough his grace feared some hostilitie of them, nevertheles by the death of a woman, all calumnies be extincted; and to the entent the confederats might know his graces good affection towards them, and to the reformacion of the church, and abolicion of abuses, his grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse thair peticion, but willingly contribute for his parte 100000 crownes for the defence of the leage, in case that the confederation between the said confederats and his grace to be made, shall be brought to any effect. And for other appendaunces of this article, as touche sufficient suertie, *Item*, that the half of the monaye by them contributed shuld be spent, or ever they touched his graces monaye: *Item* concerning the forme and maner to deposite and spend the same. *Item* to make his highnes prevey of the same, that on thair behalfe shall be contributed, and of the necessitie where abouts it shold be spent;

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and that all things may be done by common advise and assent, because the same do require long treatie; therefore his grace referreth the same to his orators, and to such of thairs, as by the 13th article they desire to send, his grace desireth the said princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and auctorite to treate with his highnes, not doubting but they shall have reasonable and friendly answer.

To the 1st, 2d, and 7th articles, his majestie hath veray acceptable and agreeable, the honour they have thought to deferre unto him, as above all princes, to call him to be protector and defendor of their religion, wich is a declaration of the certain benevolence and trust that they have in his majestie; and although his majestie knoweth what envy and danger foloweth such title, yet nevertheles his highnes is so desirous to do them pleasure, and to the glory of the gospell, his grace is content to accept the same honour, after that between his and thair orators agrement, shal be had upon the 1st and 2d articles, for it shuld not be sure nor honourable for his majestie, before they shall be with his grace agreed upon certain concorde of doctrines, to take such a province upon his highnes; and forasmuch as his majestie desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs, but seen that it cannot be, oneles certain thinges in their confession and apologie, shuld by their familiar conferencies be mitigate, his grace therefore would the orators and sóme excellent learned men with them shuld be sent hither, to conferre, talke, treate and common upon the same according to the 13th article.

Now that his highnes by the same answers sheweth unto them his good harte, trusting that they woll be of correspondence, therunto his majestie desireth three things of them of no great coste nor difficultie.

First, That in case any king, prince, or other, would invade his majestie or dominions for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they woll furnishe him at thair expences, 500 horsemen armed of all peces, or 10 ships well arrayed for the warre, to serve his majestie by the space of

four hole monethes by land or by sea; and that it shall be at his graces choyse to have horsemen, or shipps, and that such as his grace shall chuse shall be sent to him within a month after the requisition thereof. BOOK III.

Second, That besides the same, that they shall reteyn at his majesties costs and chardges, such number of horsemen and footmen, as his highnes shall require; so that the horsemen passe not the number of two thousand, and the footmen the number of five thousand; or for the said footmen, 12 ships in good order furnished with men, harneys, ordynances, victuells, and other things necessarie; and that the kings majestie maye hyre them, reteyne at his wages as long as it shall please his grace; and it shall be as his majesties choyse to have the said 12 ships, or the said number of horsemen and footmen, and that such as his majestie shall choyse, maye be redye within two moneths after his requisition.

Thirde, That the sayd confederats woll take upon them in all conciles herafter, and every where ells to promote and defend the opinion of the reverend fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melanchton, in the cause of his graces marriage.

Number 47.

A letter writ to the king by the princes of the Smalcaldick league. An original.

SERENISSIME rex, postquam Romanus pontifex, Paulus Tertius, generalem synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, et inchoandam die vicessimo tertio Maii, indixit, misit ad nos invictissimus imperator Carolus Quintus clementissimus dominus noster, oratorem suum, ut ad indictionem illam concilii ipsi veniamus, vel procuratores nostros mittamus. Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6 p. 283.

Etsi autem nos ex animo semper optavimus, ut synodus, rebus deliberatis, emendationem abusuum atque errorum, qui diu jam in ecclesia hærent, institueret, etiam adversus illos ipsos pontifices et prælatos, quorum partim negligentia, partim cupiditatibus, vitia illa in ecclesiam irrepserunt: tamen

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bulla, in qua Paulus pontifex concilium indicit, non obscurè testatur, pontificem (cum suis conjunctis) nequaquam passurum esse; ut in synodo, de restituenda vera doctrina, et corrigendis abusibus atq; erroribus, agatur. Sed quemadmodum ab ipso, et quibusdam suis antecessoribus doctrina, quam confessi sumus, sine ulla cognitione, aut examinatione generalis, liberæ, et Christianæ synodi, temerè, et cum contumelia evangelii, damnata est; ita ostendit se Paulus pontifex, hæc prejudicia, prætextu synodi confirmaturum esse: et conatur sibi ipsa receptione bullæ, obligare omnes reges et potentatos, ut ipsi quoque assentiantur illis prejudiciis, et omissa cognitione, se ad piam et catholicam doctrinam, et in evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur extirpandam, et armis delendam conjungant. In hanc indictionem si consensissemus, visi essemus hæc prejudicia confirmare et doctrinam ecclesiæ Romanæ et doctrinam nostrorum testimonio nostro condemnare. Itaque oratori Cæsariæ majestatis, verè, et bona fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa indictio concilii, iniqua, et perniciosa ecclesiæ videatur; ac petivimus, ut Cæsariæ majestati, excusationem nostram justam, et consentaneam, juri scripto et naturali, quare in illam indictionem non consenserimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus pontifex, et hi quos habet conjunctos, se excusaturi essent apud regiam dign. V. tanquam pontifex fecerit suum officium, ac ostenderit se voluisse recte consulere ecclesiæ; nos vero oneraturi invidia, quasi communi utilitati deesse velimus. Quare necessarium nobis visum est, causas, propter quas indictionem illam iniquissimam, et insidiarum ac periculi plenam recusavimus, regiæ dignitati vestræ, et cæteris regibus et principibus significare, ut adversariorum calumniis, et aliorum suspicionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut regia dignitas vestra causas illas verè et integrè intelligere possit, rogamus, propter gloriam Christi, ut regia dignitas V. nostram excusationem, quam publicatam his literis adjecimus, perlegat. qua in re non solum periculo moveatur multorum in Germania populorum, quib. regiam dignitatem V. optimè velle speramus, sed etiam cogitet,

hanc nostram causam ad communem salutem ecclesiæ pertinere, in qua cum disciplinam multis in rebus collapsam esse constet, et paulatim receptos esse abusus non dissimulandos, diu multi, magni, et præstantes viri, emendationem optaverunt et flagitarunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin regia dignitas V. etiam ex alio cupiat ecclesiæ Christi quemadmodum Deus hoc officium, præcipuè à summis principibus requirit, omni ope, et omnibus viribus consulere. Proinde et communem ecclesiæ causam, et nos ipsos diligenter commendamus regiæ dignitati V. et nostra officia, cum summa observantia, reg. dignitati vestræ deferimus. Bene et feliciter valeat regia dignitas vestra. Datæ vii. calend. April. anno Domini M.D.XXXVII.

Dei beneficio, Joannes Fredericus dux Saxoniæ, sacri Romani imperii archimareschallus ac princeps elector, lantgravius Turingiæ, et marchio Mysiæ.

Et Philippus lantgravius Hassiæ, comes Cattorum Diek, Zygenhaim, et Nidde, suo et aliorum, principum statuum, et civitatum imperii Germanicæ nationis, nomine, puram evangelii doctrinam profitentium.

Serenissimo principi, domino Henrico ejus nominis Octavo, Britanniæ et Franciæ regi, domino Hiberniæ, domino cognato, et amico nostro carissimo.

Number 48.

Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, complaining of the ill treatment of the ambassadors from Germany.

My very singuler good lorde, in my most hertie wise I recommend me unto your lordeship. And where that the oratours of Germany, when thei granted to tary one moneth, Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 5 p. 212.

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required that we should go furth in their booke, and entreate of the abuses, so that the same myght be set furth in wryting as the other articles arr: I have syns effectuously moved the bishops therto, but they have made me this answer; that thei knowe, that the king's grace hath taken apon hymself to answer the said oratours in that behalf, and therof a book is alredie divised by the king's majestie; and therfore they will not meddell with the abuses, leste thei should write therin contrarye to that the king shall write. Wherfore thei have required me to entreate now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherin thei knowe certeynly that the Germanes will not agree with us, excepte it be in matrymoney onlye. So that I perceyve, that the bishops seek only an occasion to breke the concorde; assuring your lordship, that nothing shall be done, unles the king's grace speciall commandmente be unto us therin directed. For they manifestly see, that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they wold in no wise grant unto them. Farther, as concernyng the oratours of Garmanye, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: for besides the multitude of ratts, daily and nyghtly runnyng in thair chambers, which is no small disquietnes; the kechyn standeth directly against their parlar, where they dayly dine and supp; and by reason therof, the house savereth so yll, that it offendeth all men that come into it. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not, but that they will accept that offer most thankefully, albeit I am suer that they will not remove for this tyme. And wheras of late I did put your lordship in remembrance, for the suppression of the abbey of Tudberye; now I beseech your lordship, not only that commissionours may be sent unto that house, but also in likewise unto the abbey of Rocester, or Crockesdon; beseeching your lordship to be good lorde unto this berer Frances Basset, my servant, for his preferment unto a leace of one of the said houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest man, who at all tymes shall be able to do the king's grace right good

service in those partes, and also be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus Almightie God have your good lordship in his blessed tuition. At Lambeth, the xxiiid daye of Auguste. BOOK III.

Your own ever assured
T. Cantuarien'.

Number 49.

The earl of Northumberland's letter to Cromwell, denying any contract, or promise of marriage, between queen Anne and himself. An original.

Mr. Secretary, This shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceyve by sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is supposed a precontract between the queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the archbishopps of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the duke of Norfolk, and other the king's highnes council learned in the spirituall law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath, and blessed body which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contracte, or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newyngton-Green, the xiiith day of Maye, in the 28th year of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the VIIIth. Cotton lib. Otho. C. 10.

Your assured,
Northumberland.

Number 50.

A letter, giving Pace an account of propositions made to king Henry by Charles the Vth.

Trusty and right wel-beloved, we grete you well, lating you wit, that on Tuesday last passed, repaired to our maner of Greenwiche unto us, the emperors ambassador here resident, and on his masters behalf, pretending a desire to renew the old amytie that hath been between us, testified nevertheles by letters of credence sent from the said em- Paper-Office.

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peror to our trusty and right wel-beloved counsailer, Thomas Cromwell, our principal secretary, which of long season hath been interrupted, made unto us for the advancement of suche a renovation certain overtures: the first was, that he wold be a means to have a reconciliation between us and the bishop of Rome: an other, that we would ayd him with some contributions in his entended voyage against the Turk: the third, that forasmuch as by a certain leage passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in case either of us shuld be invaded in any of our realmes, dominions, or seigniories, which we have in possession, the other shuld ayd him in such form, as in the said leage is expressed, at the costs and expences of the prince requiring the same, and that there is a greate appearance that the French king wil now invade him in the duchie of Millain, we wold grant him such ayde for his defence against the said French king, as in the said leage is limited. To the said masse and substance of his credence, tending to a renovation of amytie, ye shall understande our answer was, that albeit the interruption and disturbance therof hath proceded holly on the emperors behalf, who for our friendeship in suche wise hertofore shewed unto him, in making him king of Spayn, in making him emperor, whenne the empire was at our disposicion, in lending him our money, that he may only thank us for the honour he is now advanced unto, hath nevertheless for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the ingratitude he could devise, both in contempnying, as it were, a friendship, when we have done more for his satisfaction in our proceedings then needed, and in procuring what displeasure and injury he could against us, at the bishop of Romes hande, as by credible reports we have knowen and lerned; yet such is our zeal to unytie, concord, and quiet amongs Christian princes, and such is our princely nature, that as we canne continue our displeasure to no man, if he do ones remove the cause therof: so if he which is a prince of honor, and a personage whom we ones chose, and thought worthie for his vertue and qualities, to be advanced, will by his express writing, eyther desire us to put his doings

towards us in oblivion, or by the same purge himself, and declare that such things as we have noted unkindnes in at his hande, hath been unjustly, and without his desert, imputed unto him, we shall gladly embrace his overture touching this renovation; but we plainly said and offered, that seing we had susteyned the injury, we could not be a suiter for the reconciliation, nor treat with his master of such appendents for aydes, as be before expressed, or any such like, unless our amyties shuld be first symple, and without all manner of conditions renoveled; which parte, if he will first accomplish, he shuld not need to doubt, but to all his reasonable desires to be made after, he shall have as friendly and reasonable answer, as between friends in the highest degree of friendship can be required. Touching the bishope of Rome, we declared unto him, that as we have not proceeded uppon so sleight and slender grounds, as we wold revoke, alter, or change any peece of our doings; having in all causes made our foundacions uppon the laws of God, nature, and honestie, and established all our works made uppon the same, by the consent of all the states of our realme, in open and high court of parliament, so considering there hath been some means made unto us by the bishop himself for such a reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it shuld not be expedient to have it compassed by any other means; nor we could take as in good parte, or think that the emperor shuld ernestly mind a reconciliation, and a renovation of our amyties, if for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome our enemye, he shuld move us to allter any one thing that we have here determyned contrary to his purpose, and pretended autoritie. To his request for aid against the Turk, was answered, that we could give no certain resolution, because the affaires of Christendom be not quiet, but in case their may ensue between Christen princes an universall reconciliation, concord, and agreement, we shall not fayle in that matter to doe for our parts, that to the office of a Christien prince appertaineth: finally to his desire for ayde against the French king, we said it shuld be convenient that our amytie shuld be

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first renewed, and certainly established, before we shuld treat of any suche appendants; and thenne being an indifferent friend to both, we might frankly travail to conserve peas and unitie; or ells friendly to staye him that wold do wrong; but tyl such time as that foundation were made, we could neyther in this appendant, nor any suche like make any direct answer. • And forasmuch as not only for your instruction, but allso for that we be much desirous to know in what parte they take our answer there, we thought convenient to advertise you of the premysses, our pleasure is, that ye shall aswell in your conferences with the emperor, pretending only a generall knowledge of certain of the overtures made by his orators here, both maintain our answers to the same, with such reasons as ye canne devise for that purpose, and of your selfe exhorte him not to pretermyt this goodly occasion, so graciously beganne, commenced, and entred, extolling our princely harte, nature, and courage, with our most gentle inclynation, to the satisfaction of our friends desires, in all reasonable things, wherunto they shall not press us; which kind of constraint doth for most parte more hurte in the stay of good purposes, then cane be, after with repentance when the tyme is past eftsoons redoubled. As in semblable maner move monsieur Grandevile of your self, as a personage whom ye repute, addicte to the advancement of our honor, to desire the emperor to consider what good may ensue to him, and to the hole state of Christendom, if we may joyne again in perfite amytie; and that it were great pitie, and purcase greater losse then might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly meane and entree to passe withoùt certain fruit and effect, by the putting to it of such appendants and conditions, as ye knowe, what soever we will after do, at the contemplation of friendship, yet our nature and courage will not bear to be newe loden and charged withall; specially considering that we have suffered the injury; and with these and suche like words, as we woll that ye shall endevor your self of your self to pryk them forwarde to the renovation of our amytie, without adding therunto any

conditions. Soe ye shall repayr to the court and to Grandevil as ye may conveniently, to give them occasion by your being in their eyes, to enter communication with you of these matters; wherby you shall the better also perceyve wherunto they will bend, which our pleasure is, you shall from tyme to tyme signify unto us, as ye may have any certain matter worthie our knowleage.

Number 51.

Instructions by cardinal Pole to one he sent to king Henry. An original.

IMPRIMIS, to declare to his grace myn hole entent and purpose yn wrytyng the booke, wherein takyn my testimony off God, that only seyth the hart of man, was only the manifestation off the treuth in that mattier, that by master secretaryes letters I tooke as a commandment to shew my sentence herein, which wrote the same to me by his gracys pleasure, that I shuld by writing declare myn opinion; and this is the very cause I dyd wryght; for otherwise, I thynk I had never sett penne to booke in so lyttyl hope of persuasion, and in such a matter as the tyme was so lykely nott to be all the best acceptyd. Cotton lib Cleop. E. p. 340.

Further to declare after I was onys entred into the mattier, haveng sent to me the books of them that have wrytten yn the contrary part, wherin I saw the trueth mervyolouslye suppressyd and cloked, with all colours that could be invented sett upon the untrew opinion, seyng besyde what acts folowed of the same so sore and greviouse, both in the sight of God, and judgment of the rest of Christendom, out of that realme, that except those colours were takyn away, and treuthe purely sett forthe, wythe declaration of the inconvenient acts, yt myght soon torne to the utter danger of his graces bothe honour afore God and man, and utter destruction, as yet semyth, of the quyettnes of the realme; this made me wyth all both wytt and lernyng that God had gyven me, to endevour to expresse so the trouthe, and de-

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clare the qualytyes off those acts that folowed of the sinister opinion, that I doubt not whosoever reade the booke that wole knowe the trouthe, shuld never after need to fall into daungier, for ignorance of the trew sentence.

And this I did with this hope, haveing this ever fixid in my harte that howsoever hys grace was by perverse occasion brought from those opinions which was for his honore, most to maynteyne, that he was brought therto as God suffereth those that be in his favour, and whom he hath electe to eternall felycytie, notwythstandyng to faull some tyme into offensys dampnable, to the entent they myght better know where they have their trew lyght and savefgarde which comythe of God, and nothyng off them self: as ytt is not unknowne that scripture mentionethe both of Davyd and Solomons faulles, which bothe in conclusion were recoveryd by the mercye of God againe, and Solomon notwithstanding the gift of wysedome that God had gyven him, fell so sore that he was utterly tornyd from God, and gyven to idolatrye. This I consydreng in those elect personys off God, and judgeng verely thoughe his grace was by God permyttyd to faull from the trew doctrine of Christ, yett as God saved David by those meanes, to send a prophete unto him to show hym the trewth, which as soone as he had hard told hym, forthwyth fell to repentance, and so was taken to the grace off God again, and recoveryd to his greatter honour, then he was yn afore his faull; the same trust I had in his grace, whiche made me put my uttermost studye and labour, callyng for help of God, to manyfest the trueth, where I doubt not but God hath hard my prayer, that for knowledge of the trewe sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly trust, that his grace herynge and assenting, as king David did to the same after his errour, shall be recoveryd by God to higher honour and grace, than ever he was afore God suffered him to faull.

In this declaration of this treuthe, because not only afore God were great peryll, but also in this world present afore man, many soore daungers myght happen, in case his grace did remayne and continew yn his sentence so dyvers from

the rest of the Christen princes; this causyd me, callyng to my mynd what daunger might follow bothe of his people at home, whose mynds experience showethe cannot be quiettyd wythe this innovations touching opinions in relygion; and also of outward power of those prynces to whose honour yt ys judged to apperteyne to defend the lawes of the church, against all other princes or nations that doyth impugne them, for these considerations to the entent the daunger hereoff now not unknown, I have in the same booke, sometyme in my own person, brought all such reasons wherebye justely either the people, or oughtward prynce might be instigate against his grace, foloweng the dyvers trade from other Chrystian princes that he hath begone. Which reasons and discourses conteynyd in the booke vehemently sett forthe, yf they shuld be redd apart without consyderacyon of my fynall purpose, which by all means entendyd to sett affore hys graces yien, not only the treuthe off that was to be folowed, butt the daungers that were moste lykelye to ensue, both at home and abrode, yf they were not followed, he shall think by what vehemencye and sore reprehension he seyth in the wrytyng, that I am the greatyst adversaraye of his graces honour that ever any hitherto hath bene: but God knoweth my entent, and he that redyth the hoole booke togyther shall knowe the same, how my very purpose and ende was to save him from great dyshonour and peryll both in this world and that to come, which were nothing possyble to examine, not knoweng what they were, and what were lykely to happen to be sayd or done against his grace: which foloweng all probabylytie the book doth expresse, and for the better understanding of both my opinion and sentence that I follow in the book, touching the declaration of the truthe, and of my utter fynall purpose in the hole matter, thys chifly I wole desyer his grace, bycause of the prolyxitie thereof, which shuld be to muche for his grace to rede hymselfe, that that wole please hym to apoynt some lernyd and sald man to rede over the book, and that done to declare his judgment, bound first wyth an othe off hys fydelytie, first to God, and afterwards to his grace to

PART III. show hys judgment without affection of any part: and yf his grace wold gyve this charge to the bishop of Dyrrhum, whome I judge to be the saldyst and most grounded in lernyng, with faythful hart to his grace, above any other that I knowe, puttyng the same charge unto him by another; I think his grace shuld thereby best and most truely be enformed; and so when he hath made his relation, afterward his grace may prove other menes judgments as it shall please him.

Furthermore to declare unto his grace how my full purpose and mynd was, touching the hole booke that never no part thereoff shuld a come abrode in any manes hands, afore his grace had seen ytt: and to folow in this booke the same maner off secretnes that I did in the other which I deliveryd to his grace concerning his matrymonye, but by what meanes in one part of this book I have been frustrate of my entent; this you may declare by mouth, knowing the hole mattier.

Fynally, With all humbylnes to desyre his grace, in the name of his most faythfull servant, and most tender of his honoure and welthe, that where as by the judgement of all wise men, God of hys mercye and love toward his grace, and for a greate warnyng to retourne to hym, hathe detectyd the iniquitie of her, which hath bene the oryginal cause and occasion of althyse bothe errours and dangers his grace hath cost hymself in, that now his grace will correct himself to take the same, as yt ys a favorable admonition of God, and to follow theyr sentencyes and counsell, which (next unto theyr conscyence toward God) hath had none other cause, butt only pure love and fydelytie to his honour and welth: which causyd them, against their owne private welthe, wyth greate daunger besyde, ever to dyssent from that matrymonye; judgeng ever, as ytt was most lykely, both great dishonour, great daungiers and perylls, both spiritually and outwardly, to followe thereoff.

And now, yf God hathe manifested the same to the recovery of hys grace welth, allwayes that his grace wyll accept thys warnyng to retourn to the unytie of his church, in

that sentence and mynd, that the rest of Christiane prynces do; wherein I dare be bolde to saye, yf God showe this great benignitie and mercy unto him, for to make him returne; for suerly God's hand that must be; and whensoever that shall be herd, that shall be taken for one of the greatyst myracles that hathe been showed this many agys, with the most certyn sygne of speciall favour that ever was showed from God to any prynce: then furst of all this shall follow, that when as now all Christendome callyng for a generall councell, yf that follow, ether his grace must wyth dyshonour and damage flee to obey thereunto, or wyth more daunger answer there to such causes as wold be layde unto him. Yf he do returne, thys furst shall followe, by that meanys that shuld be founde, that no prynce Chrysten, whosoever he were, shold appere there with more honour then shuld his grace. And wheras it was for the innovation that he hath made in the churche, to be the occasyon of ruyne of one of the feyrest membre of the churche, if God make him torne; the conclusion wyll be brought to this, that hys faull shall be the happyest faull that was unto the churche many yeres; which may be brought to be a redye and highe way to the reformation of the hole, to the more manyfestation of the honour of God: so that fynally, the ende shall be in every man's opinion, that marketh the hole processe, that God suffred his grace to faulle, to make hym ryse wyth more honour, to the greater welth not only of his own realme, but of the hole church besyde.

Your faithfull servant,

R. Pole.

Number 52.

A letter to Pole from the bishop of Durham, in his own hand. An original.

Ryght honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your mastership, advertising the same that I have received your letter, datyd at Venice on Corpus Christi evyn last; by which I do perceyve, that where of late you sent a Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 385.

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boke with a letter unto the kyng's highnes, concernyng your opinion of the king's title, and the power of the bishop of Rome; and your desire was in your letter, as ye write, that I myght see the boke, to enforme his grace what I thought theroff. And now ye send to me your said letter, to informe me of your meanynge and purpose in your said longe boke, wherin I do perceyve, ye fere lest your vehemency have offended. I do signifie unto you, that I have both well perused your said letter, to comprise well the effect theroff in every point; and also have perused, with odyr your said longe boke, unto the ende theroff. Which made me hevy in my harte, both whylse I was in redinge of it, and allso mych more when I had redde it thorow, seinge the vehemency and egerness of it in all partes, dyd sore byte; and yet the hole thinge ran wyde off the truthe. For in all your boke, your purpose is to bring the king's grace, by pennance, home unto the churche again, as a man clerly seperate from the same alredy. And his recesse from the church, ye proffe not otherwise, than by the fame and comon opinion of those parts; who be farr from the knowlege of the truth of our affairs here, and do conjecture every man as they lyst, (blyndly) of thinges unknowen unto them. And in cause of his retorne, ye promisse to illustrate the king's name, so to bend your lernyng therunto, that all displeasure that may be takyn of your said boke, shuld be clerly therby abolysed and takyn away; and all shold redund unto his glory and honour. And to comprise in few wordes the effecte that is worn off your said boke that makes vehemently many playes, and doth conteyn lyttle or no salve to hole them. And as it semyth to me, ye wer styrred to sore in your spirite in all your writings therof, and wer not quiet in your mynde, whyle ye were in doynge of it. Wold to God ye had rather written to his grace your opinion, brevely comprisyd secretly in a letter, that he shold not have nedyd to have shewed it to other lernyd men of his counsell, than in so longe a boke to have dilatyd all thynges as ye have done, that he must of necessitie be constranyd to commytte that to such trusty persons, as shold please his

grace to know by them the effecte theroff. What stupidity was it, to send so longe a boke so longe a way, conteynyng so displesaunt mater, by one man, who myght have myscaryed or peryshed in the way, and therby the boke have comen (as was likely) to the handes of such as wold have published it to the king's slaunder, and the realmes, and most of all to your owne, that shuld be the author of such a boke, made against your prince and countre: wherin all the world shuld repute you to be unkynd unto your prince and countre, who evermore so had lovyd you, and brogt yow up in lernygne, and ye to spend the same to his reproche. So that surely, who so ever not favouryng the king, shold have lykyd the matter, yet must he nedys have myslyked the author thereof, usinge his lernyng against hym, in whose defence he ought to have spent both lyff and lernyng. But laude be to God that the boke came saffe unto the king's handys, wherby that yeperdy ys past. One thinge made me cold at the harte, when I red it in your letter that ye writt of two quares; which be not in your hands to repress. The residue, ye say, ye can make sure not to come abrode; which, yf ye folow myn advyse, ye shall do furthwith; burnyng them, for your owne honour, and the noble house that ye be come of: that it never came abrode, that ye exercysed your style or lernyng against him, whom ye ougth in all points (by your wit and conning) to defende: and yf any faults wer founde by odyrs, to excuse them by all means, and not to animate them by your penne. And would to God lykewise, that ye wold endevour your self (by all means to you possible) to gett again those two quarys, and lykwise to burn them. For, in all your boke, ther is not one queyre without bytterness, mych more then I wold it were. But to retourne to that thinge that I said before, that methought your hole book ran wyde of the truth. I shall, by your patience, yf ye be contente to here me as your frende, opyn unto you what I mean therby. Ye presuppose for a ground, the king's grace to be swarvyd from the unite of Christ's church, and that in takinge upon him the tytle of supreme hede of the church of Englande, he intendyth to seperate his church

PART III. of Englande from the unitie of the whole bodie of Christendome; takyng upon hym the office belonging to spiritual men, grounded in the scripture, of immediat cure of soule, and attribute to hymself that belongith to presthode, as to prech and teach the word of God, and to mynyster the sacraments. And that he doth not know what longeth to a Christen king's office, and what unto presthode; wherin surely both you and al odyr so thinkinge of him, do erre too farre. For there is no prince in Christendome, that more regardith, or better knowith the office and the honor of a Christen prince, nor that more doth esteem spiritual men that be gyffen to lernyng and vertue, than he doth: and that ye may boldly (without reproch) avouch to all men affirming the contrary, whatsoever sinistrously conceived opinion any person shall have of hym, in those partes, or any oder. For, his full purpose and intente is, to see the laws of Almyghty God purly and sincerely prechyd and taught, and Christ's fayth without blot kepte and observed in his realme; and not to seperate hymself, or his realme, any wyse from the unitie of Christ's catholyke church, but inviolably, at all tymes, to kepe and observe the same; and to reduce his church of Englande out of all captivitie of foreyn powers, hertofore usurped therin, into the Christen estate, that all churches of all realmes wer in at the begynyng; and to abolyshe, and clerly to put away such usurpations, as hertofore in thys realme the bishops of Rome have, by many undue meanes, incresyd to their grete avantage, and impoveryshinge of thys realm, and the kyng's subjects of the same. So that no man therin can justly find any fawte at the king's so doinge, seinge he reducyth all thynges to that estate, that is conformable to those auncient decres of the churche, which the bishop of Rome (at his creation) solemly doth profess to observe hymself, which be the eygth universal counsells. Which yf ye do rede advysedly, and studiously do consyder how the church of Christ was stablyshed by those, and how far of late yers the byshops of Rome have broght this realme and odyr from those; ye shall manyfestly perceyve the abuse and diversitie betuyx the oon

and the other. I am sure, at Venice ye may have the sayd counsels in Greke, lyke as now they be comon abrode in Latyn, translatyd even from the begyning. Which if they had been comenly knowen and redde hertofore, the bishop of Rome's power hertofore usurpyd in many realmes, had never so farre been avancyd, as of late it hathe. Wold to God ye had been exercised in readinge of them, before the sendinge of your saide boke, that ye might have knowen from the begynning, from age to age, the continuaunce and progresse of the catholike churche. By which ye shuld have perceived, that the church of Rome had never of olde such a monarchie, as of late it hathe usurped. And if ye will say, that those places of the gospell, that ye do allege in your boke, do prove it, then must ye graunt also, that the counsel of Nice and others did erre, which ordeined the contrary. And the apostels also, in their canons, did ordeine, that al ordring of prests, consecratynge of bishops, and all matirs spirituall, shuld be fynished within the diocesse, or at uttermost within the province wher the parties dwelte. Which canons of the apostels, Damascen doth commemorate for holy scriptures. Now it is not lyke, that the apostels who were prechers of the gospell, wold make canons contrary to the gospell; nor that the four first cheffe counsels general wold have ordenyd so as they did, if the gospell, or the scripture, had bene to the contrary. And wher ye in your boke much do stikke to common custome of the church, suerly after Christe, above a thousand yere, the custome was to the contrary, that now is used by the bishop of Rome. At that tyme, in the primitive church of Christe, when the blood of Christe and martyers was yet freshe, the scriptures wer best understande, faith most firme, and vertue most pregnant; the customes then used in the church must nedes be better than any contrary use sens, eyther by ambition or covetousnes, any waies cropen in. And to assure you of my mind what I do thinke; suerly who soever shall go about, by the primatie of Peter, which was in prechinge the word of God, to establyshe the worldly autorite of the

PART III. bishop of Rome, which he now claymeth in dyverse realms, in worldly thyngs soe perfecte temporall, shall no more couple them to gedyr then lygth and darknes; but shal improve the thinge that he goeth about to prove. Iff ye wold rede *Nicolas Cusa de Concordia Catholica* in his second boke thorowly, he shold gretly open this matter unto you. Wherefore sens the king's grace goeth about to reforme his realme, and reduce the church of England unto that state that both thys realme and all other wer in at the begynnynge off the faith, and many hundredth yere aftyr; yff any prince or realme wyl not folow hym, lat them do as they lyste; he doth no thinge but stablyshyth such laws as wer in the begynnynge, and such as the bishop of Rome professeth to observe. Wherfore nidyr the bishop off Rome hymself, nor odyr prince, ought off reason to be miscontent her with. Yff I wer with you but oon day, I wold trust to shew you such grounds in thys matter, that ye myght chaunge your mynde, oonlesse ye wer totally addite to the contrary opynion, as I pray God ye be not, both for your own and for your friends sake, who shuld take grete discomforth theroff. Oon thinge yet restith that I thougth convenient to advertise you off wherin I do perceyve ye be ignorant. Which is thys. Ye write in one parte off your boke, that ye think the herts off the subjects of thys realme greatly offendyd with abolyshinge off the byshop of Rome's usurped autorite in this realme, as yff all the people or moste part off them toke the matter as ye do. Wherin I do assure you ye be deceivyd. For the people perceyve ryght wel what profite cometh to the realme therby; and that al such money as before issuy'd that way, now is kept within the realme; wheras before al that went that way, which was no small share, but grete and excessive, and dayly the sayd yssue encresyd more and more, never retornyd again hedyr any parte theroff. Which was to the great impoveryshinge off thys realme. So that yff at thys day the king's grace wold go about to renew in his realme the sayd abolysh'd autorite off the byshop of Rome, grantyng hym lyke profites

as he had before thorow thys his realme, I thinke he shold fynd mych more diffyculte to brynge it aboute in his parliament, and to induce his people to agree therunto, then any thinge that ever he purposed in his parlement, sens his first regne. Wherfore I wyshed that, as many odyr things more to have ben out of the your boke. Which myght peradventure have engendry'd sum parte off suspicion in the king's gracs mynd toward his subjects, as I trust verayly that dyd not. And wher ye do fynde a faute with me, that I faynted in my hearte, and wold not dye for the bishop of Rome's authorite; when thys matter was first proposyd unto me, surly it was no faynting that made me agreeable therunto; for I never saw the day sens I know the progresse and contynuance off Christ's church from the begynning, and redde such historyes ecclesiasticall and ordinaunces from age to age as do manyfestly declare the same, that ever I thought to shede oon droppe off my bloode therfore: for sure I am noon off them that hertofore have had avantage by that authorite, wold have lost oone peny theroff to have savyd my lyffe, nor wyl not do to save yours, yff ye shold be in such necessite. Which God for his mercy forbydde, and kepe you from trust off such socoure.

Finally, accordinge to your desire sens your boke ys comon unto the king's hands, and he perceivyth the effecte off it, I shall help as mych as may lye in my lityl power, that your plain facyon off writinge, as off a sharpe gostly fadyr, may be takyn in best parte according to your letter and desire in that behalf; but at the reverence off Almygthy God hynder not your selfe in addictynge you to the opinion off your boke, towching the bishop off Rome's autorite; thinking, that as ye se it now in Italy and diverse countreys, so it was from the beginning, and ought to be by God's law. For the forsaid counsayls do shew plainly ther is in the church of Christ no such monarchie ordaynyd by Christe. And the preemmenence of sitting, that was gyffen to the bishop off Rome in the forsaid counsels general, which were callyd al by the emperors off that tyme,

'ART III. was gyffen to hym by cause he was bishop of Rome, the cheffe cite off the empire, and not for Peter and Paule's sake, which wer apostyles, and bernyd in Rome, nor for the gospell-sake; and the secund place was gyffen to the patriarch off Constantinople, by cause that cite was called *Nova Roma*, and so was preferryd both before Antiochia, wher Sainte Petyr was first bishop, and wher the name of Cristendom first began; and also before Alexandria, where Sainte Marke, the disciple off Petyr did preche. And also before Hierusalem, wher Crist himselfe preched, and the hole colledge off the apostles afftyr him; and *Jacobus frater Domini* was first bishop, which was in the beginning untill it was destroyed, callyd *mater cunctarum ecclesiarum*, which three ware sees apostolyke. Befor al which three sees, and also before Ephesus, where Sainte John Evangelest did write his gospell, and ther dyed, Constantinople was preferry'd, because it was the second grete congregation off Cristen men in the empire, and was callyd *Nova Roma*. Wherunto those holy counsels wold never have consentyd, and namely Calcedonense, wherin wer vi C. and xxx bisheps of the best lernyd off al Christendome, yff they had seen the gospell to the contrary. Moreover, yff ye rede, as I am sure ye have, Basilium, Nazianzenum, Chrissostomum, Damassenum, ye shal fynd in them no such monarche off the bishope off Rome, as he clamyth spoken off nor never mentioned. Al which I touch to put you in remembrance off, to the intent that ye serchinge forther in this matter, may perceive the old fadyrs and counsels, not to have knowen any such thing as now off late is pretentyd and usurped.

Wherfore I beseech you, not trustinge your own self to mych herin, to have recourse to those autors that may informe you off the begynning off the church. Consydering therwithall of what blood ye be, and off what contre. The king's highnes hath in his realme men as wel lernyd in divinite as be in odyr countreys, and they have sougth in this mater, evyn to the bothome; which think themselfs wel delyvered form the bondage off Rome. And yff you shuld

now be against your contre to kepe them still in captivite, what they wyll thynke off you, I reporte me unto you. What also the king's grace, who hath brogth you up, and hath bene good and gracyous unto you, shal thynke, but that ye be unkynd, to be against him and hys realme, who hath been always for you and yours. What discomford shold it be to my lady your modyr, in hir age to see you swarve from your prince and contre in opinion. What discomford shold it be to my lord your brother, to see you off whom he shold have comford, use your learning to his discomford? What discomford shold it be to all your other frendys to see you off obstinate opinion against al your countrey, you may by your wisdom consider. Whom all ye may comfort and chiefly your self, in conformyng you to the truthe grounded opon the stablishment off the holly church of Christendome sens the begynnyng. And beynge the supporting of this monarchie inventyd off late days by ambition, wheroff the old fadyrs never hard tell. St. Gregorie wryteth sore against the bishop off Constantinople off his time who went about a lyke monarchie, affirmyng noone such to be in the church of Christ. Saint Cyprian wryteth, *qui omnes apostoli erant Paris honoris et potestatis*. Consilium Ephesinum affirmyth the same, which cannot agree with thys late found monarchie. At the reverence of God truste not your self to much herein, but suffer your self to be persuaded to seke fordyr then ye yet have doon. I dobt not but God willing ye shall fynd the truth in searchynge fordyr, yff ye persuade not your selfe that ye have found it already. I beseche you, have in your remembrance, that I wrote before to burn the originally off your to sharp bokes, and I shall move the king's hyghness that your boke sent to hym may be kept secret. And in conformyng your self to the opinion off your contre and off the truth, I doubt not but ye shall be acceptyd of the king's highness as well as ever ye wer, and mych bettyr bycause ye shew in your boke the intier hert that ye bere hym, as his grace by his wisdome can mych better consider than I can write unto you. And that ye may so do I pray

ART II. the Holy Ghost to illuminat you. And if ther be pleasure that I may do for you or yours, ye shall be assured to fynd me redy evermore therunto: as knoweth Almighty God who have you in his blessed tuition.

From London the xiii day
of July, 1536.

Number 53.

An original letter of Pole's to Cromwell, justifying himself.
May the 2d. 1537.

on lib. P. E. 6. 5. My lorde, yff afore tyme itt could nott be suerlye and clerelye perceived what affectyon I have ever borne to the kyng's honour and wealthe, which in my hole lyfe never gave the least occasyon, whye any man shoulde think, but wyth them that tendery'd the same moste, I myght chieflye be nombery'd: yf my deeds were trulye and indyfferentlye examined: but howe soever ytt be, yff any dede afore perverslye interpretate myght ryse any scrupell to surmise the contrary, surely these letters that I wryght now, as the time and case requirithe, bearyng that tenour as in readyng you shall knowe, be suffycyent not onely to abolyshe all former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmysed, but to make clere, that a more constant and stable mynde in observance off a prince, hathe not bene founde nother yn subject nor other personnes besyde. And the cause hereoff ys, that there never happened lyke occasyon as thys ys, that causythe me nowe to wryght, wherebye my mynd myght be so well knowen, while occasion ys gyven off the kyng's part under this maner, that he procureing against me, by such meanes to my undoynge, as was never hard off the lyke in Chrystendome against anye, that bare that personne that I do att this tyme. Yff my minde, after all this remain stable, to procure all things that may be to his honour and wealthe, as ever I have professy'd afore-tyme, what can be more suerer tokyn off a depe and a profound grounded love and affection: whither I do so I shall afterward showe you. If I declare first to hym that knoweth it beste, the kyng's act ageynst me, to the entent you maye knowe, yff I after that

remayne yn my old estate off observance, ytt is not for ig- BOOK
norance that I knowe not what is machinate ageinst me. III.
And suerly, thoughe I knewe afore bothe by your letters and other in what displeasure the king had me, without the least cause shewed off my part; I take God and my conscience to judge, which thynge, iff I had borne but a meane affectiyon myght a been suffycyent to alyenate also my mynde from thence, where I sawe what soever I dyd for the best, to be ever accepted in the worste parte. But this I wyll not have yowe take for any proffe off my mynde, but to procede off the kyng's dyspleasure toward me; the lesse I knowe the cause to be, the further I was from all imagynacyon to suspect that hys grace should be so incensy'd against my personne; that for to have me in his hands, he wold be content to breke and vyolate both Godd's law and mann's, to dystuourbe all commencement betwene contrye and contrye, between man and man, and thys I wold never a thought: but fyndyng the same to be so in dede, I could not but fynde wythall, howe hys grace was bent with all to my utter undoynge; agaynst the which yff I remayne in my old purpose to procure hys wealthe and honour, he that wyll seke other proffs after thys, or wyll not be content with thys declaracyon off a mann's mynde, he declareth with all that wythe no proffe he wyll be content, but wyll have him one off hys enemies whither he wyll or no. And off this mynde off the kynge toward me I had furst knowledge at myne arryvenge in France, off the whiche to showe youe the first motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamyd to hear for the compassion I had to the king's honour, then movyd by any indygnacyon, that I comyng not only as imbassadour, but as legate, yn the hyghest sort of embassage that ys used amongst the Chrysten princes, a prynce off honour shold desyer off another prince off like honour, betraye thyne embassadour, betray the legate, and give him into my embassadour's hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonourable request, as I understand of the king; which (as I said afore) to me suerly, regarding my own part, I promes'd you was no great displeasure, but rather

PART III. (if I shall say truth) I toke pleasure herein; and said furthwith to my company, that I never felt my self in full possession to be a cardinall, as when I herd those tydings; wherby it pleased God to send lyke fortune to me, as it did to those hedds of the church, whose persones the cardynalls do represent, which was to be persecutyd moste of them, whose wealth they labouryd for most busyly. In this case lyved the apostells: and the same nowe beyng happenyd to me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially consedyryng herebye I hadd the better occasyon to declare and justyfie my minde more than ever I had afore, which was ever my minde: but touchyng the thynge, iff we had no other religion, but lyved as paganes and infidells, yet *jus gentium* should ever teache us what demande this was, the lawe of nature alone myght declare how abhomynable ytt were to grante to such a request, and no less to desyer ytt. This I rehearse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceve, that if there had been but one sparke of a mynde alienate from the kyng, thys were able to set the same in such a fyer, that furst consideringe how all regarde off honour was sett aparte, and the law that maintaineth the commercement between man purposyd to be violate, so ytt myght torne to my undoing. Furst of all of my part, I shuld abstaine from all commercement with that part, other by word, writing, or dede; secondorylye, procure by all honest wayes, if I wolde not by dishonest, to repaye this malignytie, to the uttermoste damage I could devyse toward them, of whose malygne minde towarde me I had so greate experyence: and yett after all this, furst of all, youe may see forthwythe by wrytyng att this tyme, I doe nott abstayne from the furst acte to practyse and entreate, wyth them that hath bene authors hereof, and to practyse yett to hys honour and wealthe, whiche wold utterlie extinguyshe both in me. And if I be herd herein, to put the same also in execution; which thing thoughe I do suerlie of my owne purpose and mynd, yet some occasion hereof, howe it cometh otherwise I will not denye, nor kepe close, which is this; that whereas the bi-

shope of Verona, that was sent of me to the Frenche court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealthe of Chrystendome, the pope had committed unto me, to entreate with his majestie, in his retourne passynge by Abbevylle, where were lodged my lorde of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan; whereas he could not but gretlie marvayle of this acte of the kyng toward me, my hole legation purposing no other but his honour and weltche: and desiereng therefore to conferre the same with the embassadours, for better declaracyon of the truthe of the mattiers, to be known as they were: my lord of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan, both abstaynenge for respect from all communycation, yet sending unto him theyre secretarye, after the bishope had in parte declared the effect of my legacie, that touched then any part the kyng, yet semed to be open to bothe parties, that all the king had done agaynst me, was of the sinistre and false reports of other, that by false conjecture of things they knewe not, had ill enfourmed the king of my purpose in comyng into these partes, which the secretarys thought onys clered and declaryd other by letters or messingers, the kyng wold turne his mynde, as his grace sawe the deds to justyfie themselfs. This the bishope of Verona (at his retourne) showed me; which I accepted in that parte to be trewe also, that all came of evill enformacion. And that his grace being assertayned of my mynd, as it is and ever hath bene, it were not unpossyble then some part to knowledge rather my gratitude, than to machynate anye thing contrary. And that it might be so knowen, for all parts yet cannot be but well; but as I shewed the bishope, by letters I had attempted often the same, but all could not prevail: my messengers I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience of the kyng. And without one of these wayes were founde, there could no conclusion be had in theyse mattyers, wherein reasonyng with him, I asked, if for the love and service that ever he hath born to the kinge, and showed indede when he was in that place where his service might be in steade to the kynge, and love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledge of all my affayres and pur-

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poses, not only these laste, but all synyth my departing from the realme, whether he could be content (the king's pleasure first knowen) to acquiet the king's mynde in this behalfe, by going to his grace, and enforming him of the hole; wherein, afore God, he shuld do a dede most charitable. Wherin also I did allege unto him, for to bind him withall; bycause after such demonstracyon of the kyng's mynde made unto me, few men wold be content to practyse wyth his grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this cause, I did rehearse the more thyngs to enduce him hereunto: and amongst other, this chieflye, the purpose of his comyng with me, which (afore God) was this: that the pope, entending by all meanes of benignitie to practise with the king, haveng the Frenche kyng so joined in amytie with the kyng, and with his sanctitie also; devyseng for a mete instrument betwene bothe. Yf any personne, for this degree newlye taken, were not accepted, the bishop of Verona was thought moste meetest, being for his old deserts to both princes, as long as he was in that place where he might do them serviceable pleasure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and counted (for his goodness) the best bishop of Italye. So that all thynges consydered, in mattiers of the church to entreate with these princes, none was thought like: wherupon the pope bounde him to take thys jornaye with me, for this purpose. And this bond, amongst other I reheased unto him, when I moved him to go unto the kinge. To the which he made answer; yf there were none other bond nor respect in this mattier but of God, knowing my mattiers as he doth, and seing what inconvenients might followe, if they were not at laste well accepted, besyde the servyce he hath ever owed to the kinge, and love toward me, knowing what comfort that might be to all partys, if my trewe and faythfull dealings were well intimate to the king, he wold be content at all tymes the waye onys founde afore, howe with commodytie he might come to the king's presence, to take this charge upon hym. Thys, my lorde, you may nowe perceive, that if I had any part that mynde, that the kyng's procurenge against me doth showe to be persuaded

I have, yt could not be possible I could have any confidence to attempt any medlyng wythe his grace under suche maner: but because nor my confydence, nor affecyonate mynde, yt is not taken awaye, therefore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intente you maye intimate the same to hys grace. And now you see by a great proffe what my mynde is, you may also see how all suspytion may not alonlye be clearyd, many things apeacyd that peradventure might torne to greater trouble, but also many things be brought to light, to the kyng's more assuryd honour and wealthe, than any thing is I thinke thought of hitherto make for the same. For all this I dare promisse to follow, if the bishop be herd with that mynde, as he is sent, and content for to go. Other declaration of my mynde by letters I entende not to make, than my letters agreyng with my acts sent afore do make testimonye; and that the bishope, which is prevye to all, may better declare presentlye. But this I will saye, if I bare in any parte that mynde, the kyng's acte agaynst me doth show, his grace is persuaded I shold have, suerlye I wold never adone as I have done, in all my acts and processes by letters, made the kyng and you prevye unto them. Thys I dyd at my furst commyng to Rome, and the cause of my legacy nowe, and the cause of my comyng to these parts. Such advises rebels be not wont to give unto those, from whome they rebel, but specially at Rome, being there when the tyme was troubleous for the kyng in his realme; lettyng them the sending furthe of the censures, which myght a caused more trouble; and sending at that tyme my servant purposelye, to offer my service, to procure by all meanes his honour, welth, quietness; animating besyde, those that were cheffe of my nerest kynne, to be constaunt in his servyce. Thys rebells be not wont to do. And I know, at Rome, if any man had been premyate to do hym servyce, none could have done more; insomuch that men judged me half a rebell to God and my contrye, because I wold not assent to divers thyngs, that had made little to the kyng's quietness: but specially, having in my hand those wrytings, that put forthe peradventure, might a

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caused most trouble of all. These instauntly being desire of those, which had in a manner authorytie to command and yet ever finding meanes that they never came into the sight nor hands, and to this hower suppressing the san lykewise. If one that had mynd of rebellion wold do th same, be thinke you well: but, as I say, my purpose is n to justifie my mynde, by these letters, at this time, in mo acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it l not justified of such a one as the bishops, that knoweth the assuredly, I do nother entend hereafter to labour any mo herein: afore God, and all men, that will be indifferent judg of the truthe, I will not doubt, at all times to justifie my se toward the king, I wold to God I could so well justifie n self afore God and the catholick church, for negligent servi in this behalf, because I would not offend the kinge. No I will say no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to p that in the kyng's mynde that may be most to his hono and wealthe, with grace to follow the same; and to tal from all other such occasyon, why they shuld thynk, if th serve the kyng according to their conscience, they shul be constrayned to offend the kyng, and so herebye to sep rate the one from the other; which suerlye to no man shu be more greffe than to me. But Goddes pleasure be fu fylled above all, to whome nowe I commit you. Writt at Cambray, the second day of Maye.

Your lovyng friend
R. Card. legat.

Number 54.

A letter of the abbess of Godstow, complaining of Dr. Londo

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 228.

PLEASITH hit your honor, with my moste humble do tye, to be advertised, that where it hath pleasyd your lor ship to be the verie meane to the king's majestie, for my pr ferment, most unworthie to be abbes of this the king's mona terie of Godystowe; in the which offyce, I truste I ha done the best in my power to the mayntenance of Goc trewe honour, with all treuth and obedience to the king majestie; and was never moved nor desired by any creatu

in the king's behalfe, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give upe the house; nor was never mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandement, or yours. To the which I do, and have ever done, and will submit my self most humblie and obedientlie. And I truste to God, that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie that this poore monasterie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good lorde, so it is, that doctor London, whiche (as your lordeship doth well know) was agaynst my promotion, and hathe ever sence borne me great malys and grudge, like my mortal enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me, with a great rowte with him; and here dothe threten me and my sisters, sayeng, that he hath the king's commission to suppress the house, spyte of my tethe. And when he sawe that I was contente that he shulde do all things according to his commission; and shewyd him playne, that I wolde never surrender to his hande, being my awncyent enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I harde tell that any of the kyng's subjects hathe been handelyd: and here tarieth and contynueth, to my great coste and charges; and will not take my answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandement, or your good lordeship's. Therefore I do moste humblie beseche you, to contynewe my good lorde, as you ever have bene; and to directe your honorable letters to remove him hens. And whensoever the kyng's gracious commandement, or yours, shall come unto me, you shall find me most reddie and obedyant to folloe the same. And notwithstand that doctor London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship, that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall knowe that the contrary is trewe. For I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of his monasterie, movable, or unmovable, but have rather increasyd the same. Nor never made lease of any farme, or peece of grownde belongyng to this house; or then hath bene in tymes paste allwaies set under covent seal for the wealthe of the house. And therefore my verie truste is,

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that I shall fynd the kynge as gracious lorde unto me, as he is to all other his subjects. Seyng I have not offendyd. And am and will be moste obedyent to his most gracious commandment at all tymes. With the grace of Allmighty Jesus, who ever preserve you in honour longe to indure to his pleasure. Amen. Godiston the vth daie of November.

Your moste bownden beds woman
Katharine Bulkeley, abbes there.

Number 55.

A letter to Bullinger from one of Maidstone, giving an account of an image, which seems to be the rood of Boxley in Kent.

Johannes Hokerus Maydstanenses.

At Zurich.

Ruit hic passim Azzotinus Dagon, Bel ille Babylonicus jam dudum confractus est. Repertus est nuper Cantianorum deus ligneus, pensilis Christus, qui cum ipso Protheo concertare potuisset. Nam et capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, incurvare corpus, adeuntium aversari et recipere preces scitissimè noverat. Hic cum monachi sua causa caderent, repertus est in eorum templo, plurimo cinctus anathemate, linteis, cereis agricis.....exterisque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus est fucum cordatus vir, Nicolai Patrigii nostri frater, affixum contra parietem è vestigio solvit, apparent artes, apparent imposturæ, mirus ac Polypeus præstigiator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoso corpori occultæ passim fistulæ, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à mystagogo trahebatur, laminis nihilominus artificiose celantibus. Hinc factum est ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot magno cum quæstu dementarit. Patefactus Meydstanuensibus meis spectaculum primitus dedit, ex summo se culmine confertissimo se ostentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum est. Invisit aulam regis, regem ipsum, novus hospes: nemo salutat verè. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico, barones, duces, marchiones, comites. Adsunt è longinquo, circumstand', intuend' et vi-

dend' penitus. Agit ille minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares, mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit et renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, strepit vocibus theatrum, volitat super æthera clamor. Rex ipse incertum gavisus ne magis sit ob patefactam imposturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebi fuisse impositum. Quid multis opus? res delata est ad conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot habita est Londini concio, prædicabat è sacra cathedra episcopus Roffensis, stat ex adverso Danieli Bel Cantianus, summo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò sese aperit, hic denuò coram fabulam scitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, stupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpiter fuisse delusos. Cumque jam incalesceret concionator, et verbum Dei occultè operaretur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt istum lignum truncum in confertissimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diversorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum.

Number 56.

A consolatory letter to Henry VIIIth, from the bishop of Durham, after the death of queen Jane.

PLESE your highnes to understande that wher now of late it hath pleasyd Almighty God to take unto his mercy out off this present lyffe, the most blessed and vertuouse lady, your graces most dearest wyffe the queens grace, whose soule God pardone, and newes thereof sorrowfull to all men, came into these partes, surely it cannot well be expressed, how all men of all degrees dyd greatly lament and mourne the death of that noble lady and princesse, taken out of this world by bringing forth of that noble fruit that is spronge of your majesty, and her, to the great joy and inestimable comforte of all your subjects, consideringe withall that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age interyng into this world, is by her death lefft a dear orphant, commencinge thereby thys miserable and mortall lyffe, not only by weep- Cotton lib. Titus, B. I. p. 121.

ART II. inge and waylinge, as the mysery of menkynde requireth, but also refte in the begynnynge of his lyffe from the comforte of his most dear mother. And albeyt to hym by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more cause to morne, seinge such a vertuose princesse who hath shewed so great hopes of much frute to come of her body, is so sudenly taken from us. But thys notwithstandinge your majesty whom thys chauncly most towcheth, must by your high wisdome consyder the misery of the mortal lyffe of mankynde, which no man born in this world, prince nor porre man, can exchue; seing it is the sentence of Almighty God, sayinge in the begynning aswel to the woman, *In dolore paries filios tuos;* as to the man, and by him to all his posterite, *Pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.* In which mortal lyffe who soever is most vexyd and troubled, yf he take it patiently ys more accepte to God, and called in the scripture therby blessed; as it is written in the Book of Job, *Beatus homo qui corripitur à Deo; in crepationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse vulnerat et medetur, percutit et manus ejus sanabit.* And it is written in the Epistle of James lykewise, *Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ.* And as Saint Paul saies to the Hebrews, It is a sure tokyn that God favoureth them as his children to whom he sendeth adversite, sayinge, *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseverate, tanquam filiis vobis se offert Deus: quis enim filius quem non corripit pater? quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini et non filii estis.* And albeyt the disciplin of adversitie be full of hevinesse for the tyme, yet it endeth alwayes in joy; as there followeth, *Omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed meroris, postea autem fructum paratissimum exercitatis per eadem reddet justitiæ.* And like as al men more do favour those their servants, that in a longe voiage do sustein more adversite, so Almighty God in thys lyffe (which all is but a voiage, for

as Saint Paule saieth, *Non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus*,) most accepteth those his servants, that so sustein most adversite patiently. And Saint Paule, consyderinge the instabilite of this world, exhorteth all men to use al things therin as transitory, and not permanent both in prosperity and in adversite; for neither of both doth tary, but brively overpaseth; sainge, *Tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut qui habent uxores tanquam non habentes sint, et qui flent tanquam non flentes, et qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, et qui emunt tanquam non possidentes, et qui utuntur hoc mundo, tanquam non utantur, preterit enim figura mundi hujus.* Then sence prosperite is fugitive, and taryeth not, let us not trust to yt, and since adversite soon overpasseth and abideth not, let us not esteem it, for after it sustenyd patiently sure we be that joy shall succeed. Consyder yf it like your majestie how oft tymes sence your most noble regne began, God hath sent you diverse and many tymes great flowings of prosperite, and therfor yf God sum tymes do sende a droppe of adversite, sustein it by your high wisdome, with patient suffering, as I trust assuredly, and doubt not but your highnes wyl; assured you may be that God for your so doinge shal hyghly requite that far beyond your highnes expectations. Grete cities, towns, and regions, al people in them, and princes of the same, oft do sustein adversite bycause the hole world is alway subject to mutabilite, and lyke as after lygth succeedeth darknes, and after somer cometh winter, so darknes taryeth not, but light doth folow, and winter giffeth place to the somer again; so that I doubt not but God willing this storme of sorowful season, shal by your majesties wysdome after a tyme overpass, and the somer of joyful gladnes shal succeed, not only to your grace comforte, but to the comforte of all your subjects, much mornyng at this tyme in their harts with your highnes. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your greate discomforte a most blessed and vertuouse lady, consyder what he hath given your highnes again to your comforte, and to the rejoyce of all us your subjects, our

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most noble prince, to whom God hath ordeined your majestie not only to be father, but also as the tyme now requireth, to supply the roome of a mother also. So that therby he shal hereafter have double cause to honour your highnes. As it is not to be doubted, but God grantyng him lyfe herafter he wyl do. In whom in the mean tyme, Almighty God of infinite mercy grant, that your grace putting away all sorowful pensivenesse, may to the comfort of your noble harte, long rejoyce, which shal be also to the high comforte of al the subjects of your graces realme. And sense mornyng can in no wise amend the matter, and thanks given to God may sooner over-blow this storm. Best shall be to conclude with Job, *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomine Domini benedictum.* God gave your grace that noble lady, and God hath takyn her away as it plesed hym. So it is done, laude by gyven to hym: and for to consyder also, how Job exhorteth by his example, al men being in like case, to patience, sainge, *Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus:* which your highnes for your great wisdome and learninge can much better consider, then I can advertise the same, unlesse sorrowfulnes for the tyme put it out of remembrance. Almyghty God of his infinite mercy grant your grace spiritual comfort, and putting away al worldly hevynesse, ever to rejoyce in him, who have your majestie alway in his blessed protection to your harts desire, with encrease of much honore. From your citie of Yorke the xiii day of November.

By your most humble subject,
servant and chaplein,
Cuthbert Duresme.

Number 57.

Injunctions geven by Edwarde archbushope of Yorke, to be observed within the dioces of Yorke, by all the clergie of the same, and oder, whome the sayde Injunctions do concerne.

You shall fyrste diligentlie observe all maner of injunctions, given unto you by the king's hyghnes commaundi-

ment, and specially concerninge the abolicion of the papacie, or of the pretendyd jurisdiction challenged by the byshope of Rome within this realme; and also concerning the confirmation and establishment of the kyng's highnes title of suprime heade over thole catholique churche of Englande, aswell spirituall as temporall.

Item, Everie curate and preyste within this dioces shall have an New Testament, in Englishe or Latten, within fourtie days nexte after the publication hereof; and shall daylie reade two chapitores of the same afore nowne, and two at aftre nowne, and that treatablie and distinctlie; and shall do his best indevoure to understande the same.

Item, Everie curate shall provyde to have the booke compyled by the king's highnes commaundiment, namyde *Thinstitution of a Christen Man*, with all convenient speyde, as soon as the saide book shall come forth by his commaundment: and in the same shall daylie read two chapitores, so that he may be able to declare the same to his parochians.

Item, All curates and heades of congregacions, religiouse and not religiouse, privileged and not privileged, shall, accordinge to the kyng's highnes commaundiment and injunctions, everie holie day, at mattens time, and betwene mattens and laudes, read the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria in Englishe, treateabli and distincelie, and cause all theire parochians, whiche cannot all redy say it in Englyshe, yonge and olde, to reherse everie petecion by it selfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykewise everi holy day, at masse, and immediatlie after the Crede, shall rehers everie article of the Crede by it selfe, and so shall cause the parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it selfe, to thende, and likewise every holy day, at even-songe, betwene even-songe and completorie, shall rehers the Tenne Commaundements, every one by it selfe, and so cause his parochians to rehers after him, everie one by it selfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectelie all three. And for this purpose, the saide curates, and oder heades of the congregacion, must give warninge to thaire parochians, that none of them be absent at such times as any of the saide three

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shall be rehersed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admytted to resave the blessed sacrament of the alter at Easter, tyll they can perfectlie reherse them all three by rote: and therfore everie gostelie father, accordinge to the king's Injunctions, muste everie Lent examen ther parochians, in time of confession, to knowe wheder they have learned the premisses perfytly, or not.

Item, All curates muste continuallye call upon thaire parochians, to provide a booke of the hole Byble in Englyshe, of the largieste forme, within fourtie dayes nexte after the puplication hereof, that may be chayned in some open place in the churche, that all men may resorte to reade in it for theare instruction, under the payne of suspencion of ther churches. And the same to be boughte at the charges of the vicare or parsonne, and parochians, accordinge to the king's Injunctions.

Item, All curates muste cause one booke, comprisinge the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in Englishe, the Crede and the Tenne Commaundements in Englishe, to be set upon a table in the churche openlie, that all men may reasorte to learne them, at all such tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within twentie days after the puplication hereof.

Item, No curates, nor oder preistes of what sorte soever they be, shall haunte taverns or alehowses, or open hoistres, oder wayes than for necessarie meales and reflections; if they canne have none in oder places, accordinge to the king's highnes Injunctions; but shall occupie themselves, ether in the churche, or in thaire chambers, with reading of holy scripture, or teachinge of children.

Item, All curates and preistes, beinge in one churche togeddre, shall (if they can so provide) live togedder at one commons; and not one to be in one place, and ane oder in an oder place. And shall, in all theire behaviors, shew good example, in worde, dede, countenaunce and habyte, to the better edifienge of the laye-people.

Item, They shall not be common hunters ne hawkers, ne

playe at gammes prohibytede, as dycese and cartes, and suche oder. BOOK III.

Item, That they shall (accordinge to the king's highnes Injunctions) in no wise discorage any man to reade in the English Byble, which is the booke of lyefe; but shall comfort them therin: never the lesse exhorting them to entre in to the readinge thereof, withe the sperite of mekenes, and purpose to be gostelie edified. And not to be brablers ne praters, arguers ne disputers thereof; ne to presume that they know therin that they know not; but, for ther instruction, to resorte to such as be better lerned than they be, when they finde any dyfficultie therin.

Item, All curates and heades of congregations, religiouse and oder, privileged and oder, shall everie holy day reade the Gospell, and the Epistle of that day out of the Inglishe Byble, planely and distinctlie: and they that have such grace, shall make some declaracion odre, of the one, or of bothe, (if the time may serve) every holy day.

Item, Every curate, resident and hable, shall make 4 solempne sermons in the yeare, one everie quarter: not rescoent, havinnge 5*l.* or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *de claro*, shall finde one solempne sermon for the instruction of the people, in the begyninge of Lent: havyng 10*l.* *de claro*, 2 solempne sermons; one in the begyning of Lent, an othur at sume othur time of the yere. Having 15*l.* 3 sermons; one in the begynninge of Lent, thoder at two convenient tymes. Havinge 20*l.* 4 sermons; one at Lent, thoder three, at three convenient times. Havinge 30*l.* *de claro*, 5 sermons; one at Lent, and the oder four at convenient times. Having 40*l.* 6 sermons; one in the beginninge of Lent, and the oder five at convenient times. And as the cleare valew dothe encrease, so mo sermons.

And yet nevertheles we now monishe, under the payne of the lawe, all parsons and vicares to be resident upon theire curis, beinge within this dioces, afore the feaste of Christenmas next; oneles they can and do shew, afore that day, a lawfull cause, why they may not, or shoulde not do so.

Item, That none be admytted to kepe cure, ne to say

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masse in any churche of this dioces; oneles he be admitted by me, or my officer, havinge commission fro me for the same; and allso do shewe the lettes of his orders.

Item, That no man be admitted to preache within this dioces, onelesse he have auctorite under the king's seale, or myne, accordinge to the king's highnes Injunctions.

Item, All curates and oder, havinge charge of any congregacion, must diligentlie informe theire flocke, accordinge to the king's highnes Injunctions, that they may in no wise yelde worshippe to any images, lowtinge or bowinge downe, or knelinge to the saide images, ne offering to them any money, or wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder thing: for so muche, as offeringe is to be made to God onlie, and to no creature under God. Neverthelesse they may still use lightes in the roode lofete, and afore the sacrament, and at the sepulture at Easter; accordinge to the king's Injunctions: so that they none use to the honer or worshippe of any image, ne by the way of offeringe made, odre to any image, or to any sainct represented by the same.

Item, They must teache theire flocke, that images be suffred onelie as bokes, by which our hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy steppes and examples of the saintes represented by the same; even as sainctes lives be written, and muste be redde in written bookes for the same purpose: and that, as we do not worshipe our booke when we have rede the saint's liefe; so likewise, we shall not worshipe the images, which is as the booke to them that cannot read in odre bokes.

Item, They muste declare to thaire flocke, that althoughe they see the image of the Fadre represented as an olde man, yet they maye in no wise beleve, that the hevenlie Father is any man, or that he haithe any bodie or age; but that he is a nature and substaunce, above all mesure passinge the capacite and undrestandinge, oder of mans witt or aungelles.

Item, Alle suche ymagies, to whiche any maner of resorte is usede, by waye of peregrenage or offeringe, they must depose and sequestre frome all sighte of men, and suffre them no more to be sett upp.

Item, They must charge all the faders and moders, and heades of howse-holdes, and gode-fatheres, and gode-motheres, and scoole-maystres, accordinge to the king's highnes Injunctions, to see theire children, servantes and scoleres, well instructe in the Pater-Noster, Ave Maria, Crede, and Tenne Commandiments in Englishe, and all oder thinges compprised in theis Injunctions. And for that purpose, all curates and heades of congregacions, must ons in a quarter rede theis Injunctions, in the churche, in thaudience of all the people; aswell for the remembrance of theire owne dewtie, as for ther citinge the people to knowe theire dewtie. And we charge and commaunde all curates, and all oder of this dioces to whom it shall apperteigne, to have a copy of theis Injunctions, within fourtie days next followinge the puplication hereof. And when the same shall be imprinted, we charge them to have them so imprinted within sex days aftre the same shall come to thire knowledge, under payne of excommunication.

Item, They muste instructe their parochians, that they nothinge please God, but displease him; doeng workes onlie in thaire owne will and devocion, by man's tradicion, and leaving the workes by God commanded, undone.

Item, They muste instruct their flocke, that their confidence for thatteyning of everlasting lief, must be only in God, and in his grace and marcy, and in the merits and redemption of our Saviour Jesu Christe: and that none of our workes, as ours, have any efficacie or vertue to save us, but only have their vertue and efficacie by the grace of God, and merits of Christ's passion.

Item, All curates must openly, in the church, teach and instruct the mydwiefes, of the very wordes and fourme of baptisme; to thentente that they may use them perfietly, and none oder: in time of nede, that is to say; that they, naming the child, must say these wordes; *John*, or *Thomas*, or *Agnes*, *I baptize thee in the name of the Fader, the Sonne, and the Holie Gost:* and that saying thies wordes, they must cast water upon the child. For which purpose, they must have ready at hand a vessel of cleane water.

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Item, They must often upon the holidays, and specially at times of mariages, warn their parochians, that they in no wise make any privie contract of mariage, but afore two or three sufficient witnes required to be present for that purpose: and that afore they make any contract, they do their best endevour, to know wheder there be betwene them any lawfull impediment, oder by Godds lawe, or any oder ecclesiastical yet used, afore they entre to make any contract.

Item, That the fadres, and oder freyndes, constrayne not them that be under their correccion and governance, to marry agenst their willes, ne afore they have discretion to consider what the bounde of mariage meaneth.

Item, All curates and oder heddes of congregacyons must never ceasse to imprinte in the hertes of their flocke the two commaundiments which our Saviour calleth the fulnes of the lawe; that is, the love of God above all thing, and thei love of thye neighbore as thy self: and likewise the sayd curates must continuallie engrave in the hertes of their flocke the two preceptes of the lawe of nature; that is, do as thou wolde be done unto, and do not that thou wolldest not to be done unto the.

Item, They muste alway emploie them self to mainteyn charitie and peace in our Lorde Jesu amonges their parochians, and to avoide all rancor and dissention amongs them.

Item, That they in no wise kepe thoes dayes for holy whiche by our soveraigne lord the kynge opon juste consideracion be abrogat: ne asmoche as in them is suffer of their parochians to kepe them as holie, but that they in theme be occupied everie man in his busines, as in oder days according to the kinges highnes Injunctions.

Item, They muste instructe their flocke, that in those dayes whiche be observed and kept for holiedayes, they must utterlie withdrawe themselfes from all worldlie and fleshelie busines and occupacions, and houses of gammes and playes; speciallie frome all synne; and entierlie, and hollie emploie themselfes to goostelie works, behoveable for manis soule: and that therefore taverns, vitailing-houses, may not thyes dayes be used and exercised, and speciallie

in the tyme of divine servicie, onles necessitie oderwise re- BOOK III.
quire for them that travaile in journey.

Item, All houses of religion, colleges, hospitalls, and all oder havyng any beneficies appropriated unto theme, shall according to the value of their beneficies, have in their churches appropried certain sermons every year; as in like ordinance for curates as afore is comprised.

Item, All curates and oder havyng benefices appropriated by them self yf they can, or by oder preachers ons every quarter, must teache and instruct the people of their dewtie of fathefull and loyall obedience to our soverand lord the king, declaring that they be bounden to yield entier and perfect obedience to his highnes by Goddes lawe, expresse under the payn of dampnation everlasting: and that to make any styrryng, gathering of people, or commocion, withoute his expresse commandment, is to breke, not only Goddes commandment and lawe, but also all natural and politique order, in which the heed governethe the membres, and not the membres the heed, and in which also all the members, as well by nature as by good policie, employe them selffe and indaunger them self for the preservation and mayntenance of the heed.

All which Injunctions by thauctorite which we have under God, and our soveraigne lord the kynge, we charge all to whom it apertenythe to observe and kepe under the paynes lymyted in the same, and under the paynes of suspencion and sequestracyon of the frutes of theyre beneficies and promocyons ecclesiasticall, and oder paynes arbytrary, as we shall thynke convenient and reasonable.

Number 58.

Injunctions given by the bishoppe of Coventre and Lychefelde throughe out his diocesse.

To all and singular of the clergie within the diocess of Coventree and Lichefelde, I Rolande, by the grace of God byshop of the sayd diocesse, beynge commaunded therunto by the kinges majestie, gyve these Injunctions following, for

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the honour of God, thencrease of vertue, and abolyshmente of ignorance, vice, and viciouse lyvinge.

Fyrste, That ye and every one of you shall, with all your diligence and faythful obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and syngular the contentes of the kynges highnes Injunctions, by his graces commissarys gyven, in such places as they in tymes paste have vysited, and also sent unto you at this tyme. And that ye and every of you, shal provyde for copies of the same, to be had before the feast of Lammasse nexte ensuynge.

Item, That ye and every of you do instructe and teach your parishoners, the kinges majestie to be only the supreme heed under Chryst in erthe of this his churche of Englande, unto whom all potentates and powers of the same owen to obey, being therto obliged and bounde by Goddes worde. And that the bishop of Rome, and his predecessours, have ever heretofore usurp upon the kynges of this realme, the using any maner of jurisdiction or auctorite within the same. And that ye shal exhorte every Sonday al your parishoners to the due obedience of our prince and soveraigne lorde, his heires, and successours kynges of Englande.

Item, That every person or proprietary of any parishe churche within my diocesse, shal on thisside the feast of Pentecoste nexte commynge, provide a boke of the hole Byble, bothe in Latin and also in Englishe, and laye the same in the quiere, for every man that will, to loke and reade theron: and shal not discorage, but ernestly comforte, exhorte, and admonishe every man to reade the Bible in Latin or Englishe, as the very worde of God, and the spiritual foode of man's sowle, wherby they maye the better knowe their deutyes to God, to their soveraigne lord the kinge, and their neighboure: alwaye gentely and charitably exhorting them to use a sober and a modeste haviour in the readynge and inquisition of the true sence, and that in no wise they stiffely or egerly contende, or strive with one another about the same, but referre the declaration of those places that be in controversie to the judgement of them that be better learned.

Item, I decree and ordeyne that all monasteries, collegiate churches, and al persons to whom any benefyces be impropried within my diocese, shal from henceforth four times in the year at the leaste, that is, one tyme every quarter, cause one sermon to be preached, purely, sincerely, and according to the true scripture of God, in al such churches where they, or any of them, receive any profytes or commodities, upon peyne of sequestration of theyr fruites.

Item, I require and exhorte you, in our soveraigne lordes name, and as his gracis mynister, I straitly charge and commaunde you, to declare and publishe every Sondaye in the pulpet at high masse tymes, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, distinctely, and in suche wyse as the people maye lerne the same. And that four tymes in the quarter ye declare to your paryshoners, the Seven deedly Sinns, and the Ten Commaundments, so as the people therby may not only lerne how to honour God, their prince, and parentes; but also how they shall avoide sinne and vice, and to lyve vertuously, folowinge Goddes lawes and his commaundements.

Item, That ye bothe in your preachinges, secret confessions, and al other workes and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commaunded expressely of God: for the whiche God shall demaunde of them a strayte reckeninge; as the Articles of the Fayth, and the Ten Commandments, and all other workes which men do of their own will or devotion, to teache and instruct your parishioners, that they are not to be estemed, in comparison of the other. And that for the not doinge of any wilfull workes, God wyll not aske any accompte.

Item, That ye, nor any of you, sufre no fryer or other religious man, to have any cure or servyce within your churches or cures, excepte they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

Item, That ye, and every one of you, doo your dyligence, and endevour your selfes to your best industries and labour, to instructe and teache aswell chyldren as all other your people, both men and women, of that your parishe, the

PART III. Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede, and the Ten Commaundments in Englishe, and that ye or any of you do admyt no man nor woman to receyve the sacrament of the aultare, untyl that ye have harde them recite and declare at the least, the same Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, without boke.

Item, That ye, and every of you, shal two tymes in a quarter declare to your parishoners the bande of matrimony, and what great daunger it is to al men, that use theyr bodies, but with suche personnes as they lawfully may by the lawe of God; and to exhorte in the said tymes your parishoners, that they make no privye contractes of matrimonie, but that they call two honest menne at the leaste to recorde the same, as they wyll avoide the extreme payne of the lawes used within the kinges realme by his gracis auctoritie.

Item, Where some frowarde persons, partly for malice and disdaine, neglecte theyr curates, and such as have the cure and charge of their soules, and partly to cloke and hyde their lewde and naughtie livinge, as they have used all the yere before, use at Lent to go to be confessed to the fryers, and such other religious houses. Therefore I wyl you to declare, and shew to your parishoners that no testimoniall, brought from any of them, shall stande in any effect: nor any such persones shall be admitted to Goddis bourde, unto they submit themselves to be confessed to their owne curates, onlesse for certayne arduate and urgent considerations of conscyence, they be, or shall be otherwise laufullye dispensed or lycensed withall, either by me or my deputies.

Item, Whereas unyversally reigneth this abhominable, detestable, and dyvelishe use and custome, that upon the holy dayes, in the tyme of divine servyce and preachyng, that youthe and other unthriftes, resorteth to ale-houses, and there use unlawfull games, blasphemie, dronkenness, with other enormities; so that good people therat be offended, and no punyshment hadde as yet; therefore I wil and commaunde you to declare to suche that kepe alehouses

or taverns within your parishes, that at suche they suffre no more such unlawfull and ungodly assemblies; nor to receive suche persons to bollynge and drynkinge at such seasons in their houses, under peine of the kinges high displeasure, and to be punished for so doinge.

Item, Ye shall teache and instructe your paryshoners, at the least 12 tymes in the yere, the essential maner and forme of Christeninges in Englishe, and that the mydwife may use it in tyme of necessitie: commaundinge the women, when the tyme of birthe draweth nere, to have at all seasons a vessell of cleane water for the same purpose.

Item, Where I am credibly informed, that certain priestes in my diocesse, go in habite dissimuled more liker of the temporaltie than of the clergie, whiche may and dothe minister occasion to suche light persons whan they come in places, and to persons not knowen, to be more licentious, bothe of their comunication and actes, to the great sclaunder of the clergie: therfore from hensforthe I charge and commande, that in cities, towns, and villages, and in al other places, they weare mete, convenient, and decent apparrell, wherby they may be knowen of the clergie; as they and every one of them will avoide the penaltie of the lawes.

Item, I desire, require, and exhorte you and every of you, in the name of God, that he firmely do observe and kepe these all and singular mine Injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are priestes, having cure or not cure, as well benefyced, as not benefyced within my diocesse, do gette a copie of these Injunctions, to the intente ye maye observe, and cause to be observed the contentes of the same.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii impressoris excus. Anno M.D.XXXVIII. cum privilegio.

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Number 59.

Injunctions given by the byshop of Salysbury, throughout his dioces.

INJUNCTIONS made by me Nycolas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum, at mine ordinarie visitacion done in tharchdeaconry of Dorset, in the yere of our Lord God 1538, and in the 30th yere of the reign of our soveraigne lord king Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of Englande and of France, defender of the faythe, lord of Yreland, and supreme hede here in erth, next under God, of the church of England. All which and singuler Injunctions, by thauctorite given to me of God and the kinge, I exhorte, and also commaunde all parsons, vicares, curates, chauntry prestes, and other of the clergy whatsoever they be, to observe, kepe and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon pain of inobedience, and also of all such laws and statutes as may be laid against them, for breaking or violating of the same at any time hereafter.

Fyrst, Whereas beneficed men, having and taking cure of souls at the byshop's hands, do absent themselfs from their said cures without licence or counsell of the said byshop, not leavinge there able curates to discharge the said cures: I monyshe all such peremptorily, either to be personally upon their said cures, by Myghelmas nexte cumminge, or els to present unto me, or my deputies, such curates, as upon myne examinacion, shall be abled and admitted to serve and discharge the said cures, in thabsence of the said beneficed men. And that neither any French or Irish preest, which cannot perfitly speke the Englysh tonge, serve no cure in this dyocesse, after the terme before specified.

Item, That all such having cures, do every Sonday and holidaye continually, recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpet, at the highe masse tyme, in the Englishe tonge, both the Epystle and Gospell of the same daye, (if ther be time therto) or elles the one of them at the leest; and also to set forthe the king's regall power to be supreme heade, and highest power, under God, in erthe, of the churche and realme of Englande: and to abolyshe the byshope of Rome's

usurped power. And furthermore, to declare openly and distinctly the Ten Commaundements, the Articles of our Beleve, the Pater-Noster; and finally, bydde the beades, according to the king's ordinaunce, and none otherwyse.

Item, That everie prebendary, or proprietary of any paryshe-churche, whose annuall fruytes extendeth to 20*l.* shall make, or cause for to be made foure times in the yere, (that is to saye, every quarter) one sermon there. And if the fruites be 15*l.* three sermons; if but 10*l.* two sermons; and if it be under that, he shall make one sermon at the leest, over and besydes the gyving of distribucions, almes, or other comfortable and bodily, or charitable socour amonge the poore parochians there, accordinge to theire appropriacions, or rate of their prebends.

Item, That ye suffre no man to preache, excepte he be especially licenced by his ordinary, or els the king's highnes auctorite: nor that ye permit any friere, or other wearing a religiouse habyte, to have any service in your churches, neither to serve chauntry, nor trentall, neither any brothered service; and that no preeste saye two masses upon one daye, excepte Chrystmas daye only.

Item, That everie benefyced man, whose benefice is taxed at ten pounde, or above, have (before Whytsontide next) the Holie Bible; and all other preestes, beneficed or not beneficed, at the leest have the New Testament, both in Laten and in Englishe; and that everie one of them rede over and studye everie daye one chapiter at the leest, by order as they stande in the boke unto the ende, conferringe the Englishe and Latyn together. And if, by occasion of a lawfull let, it be undone one daye, be it supplied with two chapiters the nexte day, &c. So that one daye with another, he faile not to study one chapiter.

Item, That everie one of you procure diligentlie before Myghelmas nexte, to have copies of the king's Injunctions made in his last visitation; and then to kepe and observe them effectually, upon paine therin mencioned.

Item, That every one having cure of souls, parson, vicar, or curate, admitted, do perfitly con without boke the two

PART III. whole Gospells of Matheu and Johun, and the Epistles of Paule to the Romayns, Corinthians, Galathians, and other as they stande, with the Actes of the Apostles, and the canonical Pistles, after the rate; to con every fournyght one chapiter without the boke, and the same to kepe still in memory; over and besides, to rede and studie everi day one chapiter within the boke, as is above expressed. And that the 28th chapiter of Deuteronomie be openly red in the church every quarter, in stede of the general sentence.

Item, That everie curat, the first Sonday of every moneth in the yere, do openly (in the pulpet) exhorte and charge his parochians, in no wise to make any prevye or secrete contract of matrimony; but that they utterlie deferre it, untill such time as they may have two or three honest men, to hear and record the words and maner of their contract, as they will avoide thextreme paine of the lawe, if they do the contrarye.

Item, That none of you discorage any person from reding of holy scripture, but rather animate and encorage them therto; so that it be done of them without braging or arrogancy, but onelie to lerne therby to live vertuously, folowing the lawes of God, and giving good examples and holsome counsell to other that be ignorant.

Item, That not only such as have cure of soules, but also chauntry preestes, do hensforth theire true diligence to instruct and teach children, until they can reade Englyshe; taking moderatly, for ther labours, of their frendes that be able to paye, which shall so put them to lerning.

Item, That yonge people be taught theire Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commandments in Englyshe; so that none of them be admitted to receive the sacrament of the aulter, untill he or she can, and do perfictly say and reherse in Englyshe unto the curate, the Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commaundementes, distinctly, wheresoever they be shryven, either at their parishe-churche, or els where. And in case any of them be obstinate to do, as is aforesaide, let them be detect immediatly after Ester, unto theire ordinary.

Item, That preaching be not lefte off for any other maner of observaunces in the churche, as processions, or exequies of the deade.

Item, That at your prechinge time, ye diligentlie see that youre parochians be present, and take hede therunto; and that none presume to be at alehouse, tavern, or els where, at the preachinge-time, but onelie at the churche attentyfly hearing, as becometh good Christen people. And if any be disobedient, let them be first warned to amend; and afterward, if they amende not, detect them to their ordinarye.

Item, That ye suffre no night-watches in your churches or chapells, neither decking of ymages with gold, silver, clothes, lights, or herbs; nor the people knele to them, nor worship them, nor offre candles, otes, cake-breed, chese, wolle, or any such other thinges to them: but he shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a boke; wherby mens mindes be stirred and kenled some times to vertue and constancy, in faithe and love towardes God, and somtimes to lament for their sinnes or offences. For otherwise there might be peril of ydolatrie, especially of ignorant lay-people, if they either in hert or outward gesture worship them, or give honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lorde of all saintes.

Item, Ye shall instruct your parochians, not to be envious aboute workes invented by their own folishe devocion; as to go about in idle pylgrimage, and say with vain confidence this prayer and that prayer, with other supersticious observacions, in fastings, prayeng, and kepinge of olde folysh customs, which be not found commaunded or counseled in any parte of holy scripture. But ye shall instruct them, and exhorte them, to know and do all such thinges, as be commaunded or commended in the holy scripture to be done; that is to say, to know and believe all the articles of our faithe, conteined in the Crede, to kepe inviolably the Tenne Commaundementes, to performe the workes of mercy,

PART III. after every mannes power and habilite, to be in love and charite eche with other, and one to beare with an other in his weaknes or infirmite, and not to be vengeable for any offence.

Item, That every curate do at all times his best diligence, to reduce such as be at discord, to peace, love and charite, and one to forgive an other, how often so ever they be offended.

Item, That every curate, not only in his preaching, but also at all other times necessary, do perswade, exhorte, and warn the people, whatsoever they be, to beware of swering, and blasphemy of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's precious body or blode. And also to beware and abstaine from cursing or banning, chidinge, skoldinge, bakbiting, slaundering, lyinge; and from adultry, fornicacion, glotony, dronkenship, sorcere, witchcrafte: and if they be notoriously fauty in any of these, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in example of other.

Item, That every curat instruct his parochians, and especially the midwives, the essencial maner and forme how to christen a child in time of nede; commaunding the women, when the time of byrthe draweth nere, to have a vessel of clene water redy for the same purpose: charging also the said midwives, to beware that they cause not the woman, being in travaile, to make any folishe vowe, to go in pilgrimage to this ymage or that ymage, after her deliveraunce, but only to call on God for helpe. Nor to use any girdels, purses, mesures of our Lady, or such other superstitious things, to be occupied about the woman while she laboureth, to make her beleve to have the better spede by it.

Item, That none of you do magnifie and extol, praise, maintaine, or otherwise set forth, the superfluous holidayes abrogated by the kinge, with the advise of his ecclesiastical convocacion.

And finally, Forasmoch as all Christen men ought ernestly to coveit and desiere their soules helthe, and the very meane therof is to obtein the true knowledge of God's

worde, which is the fedyng of the soul: I exhort, desier, and, asmoche as I may I require, that in every honest paryshe-churche within my diocesse of Sarum, either of theire church-boxe, or of stockes given for mainteining of lightes before ymages, (with the which I dispence for this better use) or els by waye of collection among themselfes, there be ordeined and bought an Englishe Bible before Whitsondaye nexte, to be chained to a deske in the body of the church; where he that is letteryd may rede, and other unlerned may hear, holsome doctrine and comfort to their soules, and avoid idelnes and other inconveniences, whereunto the fraile disposicion of man is sone inclined.

Forasmoche as intollerable supersticion, and also abhominable ydolatrie, have no small time ben used in this my diocesse, by the occasion of such thinges as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people, under the name of holy reliques, being in veray dede vaine thinges, as I my self of certaine, which be alredie comen to myne handes, have perfite knowledge: namely, of stinking bootes, mucky combes, ragged rochettes, rotten girdles, pyl'd purses, great bullocks horns, lockes of heere, and filthy ragges, gobbetts of wodde, under the name of parcells of the holy cross, and such pelfrie, beyond estimacion; over and besides the shamfull abuse of such as peradventure be true reliques in dede, whereof nevertheles certain profe is none, but only that so they have bene taken, judged and estemed, ye and so called without monumentes had of them in any autentyke forme of writing. Therefore in remedy herof, I hertely praie you all and singular my said brethren of the clergie in my said diocese; and nevertheless by thauctorite that I have under God and the kynges highnes, and in their names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you send al suche your relyques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne house at Ramesbury, or other where, togyther with such wrytings as ye have of the same, to thintent that I and my counsel may explore and try them what they be, and those that be estemed and judged to be undoubtedly true reliques, ye shal not fayle at convenable tyme to have

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againe with certayne instruction how they ought to be used; that is to say, as memorials of them whose reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did worke all that ever they vertuously wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorifyed, lauded, and praysed; so that he which rejoyceth may in the Lorde rejoyse; to whom be all honour and glorye, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Item, That the bell called the Pardon, or Ave Bell, whiche of longe tyme hathe been used to be tolled three tymes after or before divine service, be not hereafter in any parte of my diocesse any more tollyd.

I exhorte, desire, require, and also (as ferre as I maye) commaunde you all and every of you to provide you copies of these Injunctions, and firmely to observe and performe them, and every of them, as ferre as they concerne you, and that for your welthe and my discharge to God and the kynge, of whom I have min auctorite in this behalf.

GOD SAVE THE KYNGE.

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Number 60.

The omission in the Injunctions, of which mention is made vol. iii. p. 261, has been inserted in its proper place, and consequently is not reprinted here.

Number 61.

The petition of Gresham, lord-mayor of London, to the king, for the city hospitals.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 222.

MOST redowted, puysant, and noble prince. My most dradd, beloved, and naturall soveraigne lorde, I your poore humble, and most obedient servaint, dailly considering, and ever more and more perceivyng by your vertuous begyn-

ninge, and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your persone, and majestie royall, to be the elected and chosen vessel of God, by whom not only the very and true worde of God is and shall be sett forth, and according to the trewgh and verytie of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordeyned, both to redresse and reforme all crimes, offences, and enormities, beyng repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detryment of the common welth, and hurt of the poor people beyng your natural subjects; and farther to forsee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same. Which thynk hath, and yet doth encourage me, and also my bounden dewtie obligeth me, in especiall beyng most unworthy your levetenant, and mayer of your cytie royall of London, to enforme and advertise your most gracious highnes of one thing in especiall, for the ayde and comfort of the poor, syke, blynde, aged, and impotent persones beyng not able to help themselffs, nor having no place certen where they may be refreshed, or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sicknes. So it is most gracious lorde, that nere, and withyn the cytie of Londoñ, be iii hospitalls, or spytells, commonly called Seynt Georges Spytell, Seynt Barthilmewes Spytell, and Seynt Thomas Spytell, and the New Abbey of Tower-Hill, founded of good devotion by auncient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the releffe, comforte, and helping of the poor, and impotent people, not beyng able to help themselffes, and not to the mayntenance of chanons, priests, and monks, to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people liyng in every street, offendyng every clene persone passyng by the way, with theyre fylthy and nasty savours. Wherefore may it please your merciful goodness enclyned to pytie and compassion, for the reliffe of Christs very images, created to his own similitude, to order by your high authorite, as supreme head of this church of England, or otherwise by your sage discrecion, that your mayor of your cytie of London, and his brethren the aldermen for the tyme being, shall and may from henceforth have the order, disposicion, rule, and go-

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vernaunce, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenewes apperteynyng, and belongyn to the said hospitalls, governours of theym, and of the ministers which be, or shall be withyn any of them: and then your grace shall facilie perceyve, that where now a small number of chanons, preests, and monkes, be founde for theyr own profitt only, and not for the common utilitie of the realme, a great number of poore, needy, syke, and indugent persones shall be refreshed, maynteyned, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities, frankly and freely by physicions, surgeons, and potycaries, which shall have stipende and salarie only for that purpose; so that all impotent persons not able to labour shall be releved, and all sturdy beggars not willing to labour shall be punished: for the which doyng, your grace shall not alonely merit highly towards God, but shewe your selffe to be more charitable to the poor, then your noble progenitor kyng Edgar, foundour of so many monasteries. Or kyng Henry the Thyrde, renewer of Westmynster: or kyng Edwarde the Thirde, foundor of the New Abbey: or kyng Henry the Fifte, foundor of Syon and Shene; but also shall have the name of conservator, protectour, and defendour of the poor people, with their contynuall prayer for your health, welthe, and prosperitie long to endure.

Your humble, and most
obedient servant,
Rychard Gresham.

Number 62.

A part of a proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket.

Cotton lib. Titus B. 1.

AND whereas his most royall majestie, heretofore most prudently considering, as well the great and manifold superstitions and abuses which have crept in the harte and stomake of many his true simple and unlerned subjects, for lack of the sincere and true application, and the declaring of the true meaning and understanding of holy scriptures, sacraments, rites, and ceremonies; as also the sondry strifes and contentions, which have and may growe amonges many of his saide

subjects, for lacke of the very perfect knowledge of the tent and meaning of the same; hath divers times most commanded all and singuler his archbishops, bishops, her ministers of the clergie of this his noble realme, in rmons and preaching, plainly, purely, sincerely, and l their possible diligence, to set forth first to the glorie , and trouthe of his most blessed word; and after, the eaning and end of the said sacramentalls and ceremo- to the intent that all supersticious abuses and idola- eing avoided, the same sacramentalls, rites and cere- , might be quietly used, for such only intent and ration, as they were first instituted and meant. His e having knowledge, that this his most godly and rtuouse commandment hath not ben executed ac- to his trust and expectation; therefore straitly eft- hargeth and commandeth all his said archbishops and of this his realme, not only in their own persons, ore diligence to preach, teach, open and set forth, to ople and loving subjects within their cures, com- to them by his highnes for that purpose, as often y conveniently maie, the word of God sincerely rely; declaring such difference between thinges com- l by God, and the rites and ceremonies aforesaid, e use of them, in such wise, as his people, being heir cures by his highnes to them committed, maie be t to the true knowledge of their lively faith to God, edience to his highnes, with their love and cha- o to their neighbours: but also his highnes straitly th and commandeth all archdeacons, deans, provosts, , vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of n their own persons, within their cures, truly and dili- to do the same. And further, in all their said ser- nd collations, to stirre and exhort the people to , love and obedience; and also to rede and heare mplicite, and without any arrogancie, the very gos- l holie scripture, and to conforme, by earnest deeds, indes and willes unto the same; avoiding all manner encion, strife and occasions, upon pain not only to

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incurre his majesties indignacion, but also for their slacknesse and negligence in the executing of their cures and charges committed unto them by his highnes, to be imprisoned and punished at his majesty's pleasure.

Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth clearly, that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishope of Canterbury, stubbornely to withstand the holsome lawes established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highnes most noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the common welth, rest, and tranquillity of this realme; of his froward mind, fled the realme into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintenour of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said lawes, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm. And that his death, which they untruly called martirdome, happen'd upon a reskewe by him made: and that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious wordes to the gentlemen which then counsailed him to leave his stubbornes, and to avoide the commotion of the people, risen up for that reskewe. And he not only called the one of them bawde, but also toke Tracy by the bosome, and violently shoke and plucked him in such manner, as he had almost overthrone him to the pavement of the church. So that uppon this fray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain. And further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to mainteine his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitie of the clergie. For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's majestie, by the advice of his counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in this life and exteriour conversation, whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefor his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint; but bishop Becket: and that his images and pictures, through the hole

realme, shall be put down and avoided, out of all churches, chappelles, and other places. And that from henceforth, the days used to be festivall in his name, shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collettes, and praiers in his name redde, but rased and put out of all the bookes. And that all other festivall daies already abrogate, shall be in no wise solemnised, but his grace's ordenance and injunctions thereupon, observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to committ idolatrie, as they have done in times passed; upon paine of his majesties indignacion, and imprisonemente at his grace's pleasure. BOOK III.

Finallie, His majestie willeth, and chargeth all his said true, loving, and obedient subjects, that they, and every of them for his parte, shall keepe and observe all and singuler the Injunctions made by his majestie, upon the paine therein conteined, and further to be punished at his gracis pleasure.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Westm' xvi. Novembris, anno regni regis Henrici Octavi xxx.

Number 63.

An original letter of the king's, much to the same purpose. By the king.

HENRY R.

TRUSTY and welbeloved, we grete you well. And whereas we, chiefly and principally regarding and tendring the quiet, rest, prosperite and tranquillite of our nobles and commons, and ther conservacion no less than our own, directed lately our letters unto you, and other justices of our peace throughout this our realme, conteining our admonition and gentil warening, to have such speciall regard to the dewties of your office, according to the trust we have reposed in you, that not only for thimportance it is both unto us and our commonwelthe, ye shuld see our dignitie of supremacie of our church (wherwith it hath pleased Almighty God, by his most certain and undoubted word, to Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 224.

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endowe and adorn our auctorite and crown imperiall of this our realme) to be set forth, and impressed in all our subjects herts and mindes; and forsee, that the mayntenors of the bishop of Rome's usurped and fayned auctorite, with all his papistical supersticions and abuses, with which he hath in times past abused the multitude of our subjects; of whose yoke, tyranny and skornfull illusion, we have, by God's providance, deliver'd this our realm, and other his satellyts, which secretly did uphold his faction, shuld be by you diligently serched, enquired and tried out, and so brought to our justice, to receive condign punishment, according to their demerits; but also that tale-tellers about the cuntries, and spreders of rumors, and false inventors of news, to put our people in fears, and to styrre them to sedicion, should be apprehended and punished, to the terrible example of others. Also, that vagabonds, and valyant beggers, shall be avoided, and have worthy correction: and for the same purpos, to keep watches, and to see commun justice with indifferencie, and without corruption, to be observed and ministred unto all our subjects; like as by the purport and contents of our said letters ye may more amply perceive. We have been credibly informed, that sundrie of you have for a time so well done your dewties, and endevored your selfs fulfilling our said admonicions, and causing the evil-doers to be punished according to ther demerits, that our loving subjects have not been disquieted of a long season, untill now of late, that some ungracious, cankred, and maliciouse persons, have taken boldnes tattempt with sundry divelish persuasions, to move and seduce our true subjects; using false lyes, and most untrewe rumors. And amongst them, we understand, sundry parsons, vicars and curates of this our realme, to be cheef; which (to bring our people to darkness) of their own perverse minde, not only to blinde our commons, do rede so confusely, hemmyng and hacking the word of God, and such our Injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost no man can understande the trewe meanyng of the said Injunctions, and also secretly have suborned certain spreders

of rumors and false tales in corners, which do interpretat and wrast our trewe meanyng and intencion of our said Injunctions, to an untrewe sense: for wheras we have ordayned by our said Injunctions, for the aveiding of sundry strives, processis and contentions, rising upon aege, lyneall descents, title of inheritance, legitimation, or bastardy, and for knowledge whether any person is our subject born or no: also for sundry other causes, that the names of all children christen'd from henceforth, with their birth, their fathers and mothers names; and likewise all marryages and burials, with the time and date therof, should be registred from tyme to tyme in a booke, in every parishchurch, safely and surely to be kept. They have brutid and blowen abrode, most falsely and untreuly, that we do intend to make sum new examinations, at all christnynge, weddings and buryalls; the which in no wise we never meanyd, or thought upon. Alledging, for to fortefy and colour their false and manyfest lyes, that therein we go about to take away the liberties of our realm; for conservation whereof, they fayne, that bishop Becket of Canterbury, which they have tofore called Saint Thomas, dyed for: where in deede ther was never such thyng don nor ment in that tyme, nor since: for the said Becket never swarved nor contended with our progenitor, king Henry the Second; but only to let, that those of the clergie shuld not be punished for their offences, nor justefied by the courts and lawes of this realm; but only at the bishop's pleasure, and after the decrees of Rome. And the causes why he dyed were upon a wyllfull reskew and fraye, by him made and begon at Canterbury; which was nevertheles afterward alledged to be for such liberties of the church, which he contended for, during his life, with the archbishop of Yorke; yea, and in case he should be absent, or fugitive out of the realme, the king shuld not be crowned by any other, but constrayned tabyde his retorne. These, and such other detestable and unlawfull liberties, nothing concerning the commun wele, but only the partie of the clergie, the said Thomas Becket most arrogantly desired, and tray-

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torously sewed, to have contrary to the lawes of this our realme. To the which most false interpretations, and wrasting of our trewe meanyng, they have joyned such myschevouse lyes, and false tales, for marking of catalls, and others lyke sedyciouse devises, whereupon our people were lately styrred to sedicion and insurrection, to their utter ruyne and destruction, onles Allmighty God, who by his divine providence gave unto us habundance of force, (as he allwayes doth unto rightfull prynces) had so with clemencie illumyned us, that whereas we, with the edge of the sword, and by our lawes might have overthrowen and destroyed them, their wives, children, and posterite for ever; we nevertheles, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that time our benygn and mercifull pardon. Those miserable, and papistical, superstitiouse wretches, nothing regarding the same, nor caryng what daunger and myscheef our people shuld incurre, have both raysed the said old rumors, and forged newe sedicious tales, intending (as much as in them lyeth) a newe commocion, and all to satisfye their cankered herts. Wherfore, and for the immynent daunger to you, and to all our good subjects, and trouble that might enfews, onles good and ernest provision to repress them be taken thereupon: we desire and pray you, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you, that within the precynct and lymyt of your charge, ye shall not only endevour your selfs, and imploy your most diligence, to inquire and fynde out such canker'd parsons, vicars and curats, which do not truely and substantially declare our said Injunctions, and the very word of God, but momble confusely, saying that they be compelled to rede them, and byd their parishioners nevertheles to do as they did in tymes past, to live as their fathers, and that the old fashion is the best, and other carftie sedicious parables; but also with your most effectual vigillancie do inserche and try out such sedicious tale-tellers, and spreders abroade of such bruts, tydings, and rumours, touching us in honour, or suretie, the state of our realm, or any mutation of the lawes, or customes thereof, or any other thing

which might cause any sedition, and the same with their settersforth, mayntenors, counsaylers, fautors, and adherers with all diligence to apprehend and commytte to ward, or prison, without bayl or mynprise till evidence to be given against them, at the arrival of our justice in that country, or otherwise upon your advertisement to us, or to our counsell, to be given, to our further pleasure known, they may be punished for their sediciouse demerits according to the lawe, to the fearful example of all others: imploying and indevoring your self therunto, so ernestly, and with such dexteritie as we may have cause to think that ye be the men which above all thing desire the punishment of evil doers and offenders, and that will let for no travail to set forth all things for the common peas, quiet, and tranquility of this our realme: and like as the daunger is immynent no les to your self and your neighbours then to other, so ye of your own mind shuld procure and see with celeritie our injunctions, laws and proclamations, as well touching the sacramentaries and anabaptists, as others, to be set forth to the good instruction, and conservation of our people, and to the confusion of those which would so craftely undermind our common wealth, and at the last destroy both you, and all other our loving subjects, although we should give unto you no such admonishion: therefore fayle ye not to follow the effect, admonishion and commandment both in our said letters, and in these presents, and to communicate the whole tainour of these, to and with such justices of our peas, your neighbours, and other in that district, and to give unto them the trew copie therof, exhorting them likeas by these we desire and pray, and nevertheles straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that you will shew your diligence, towardnes, and good inclination to see every thing for his parte, put in execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our pleasure, and will deserve our condigne thanks, given under our signet at our manner of Hampton-Court, the day of December, in the 30th year of our reign.

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Number 64.

The design for the endowment of Christ-Church in Canterbury.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
tton lib. op. E. 4. 301. FIRST a provost	100	0	0
Item, 12 prebendaryes, each of them at 40*l.* by the year	480	0	0
Item, 6 preachers, every of them 20*l.* a year	120	0	0
Item, a reader of humanitie in Greke, by the year	30	0	0
Item, a reader in divinitie in Hebrew, by the year	30	0	0
Item, a reader both in divinitie and humanitie, in Latin, by the year	40	0	0
Item, a reader of civil	20	0	0
Item, a reader of physike	20	0	0
Item, 20 students in divinitie, to be found 10 at Oxford, and 10 at Cambridge, every of them 10*l.* by the year	200	0	0
Item, 40 scolers to be tought both grammar and logik in Hebrew, Grek, and Laten, every of them 5 markes by the year	200 marks		
Item, a schole-master 20*l.* and an husher 10*l.* by the year	30	0	0
Item, 8 pety-canons to sing in the quer, every of them 10*l.* by the year	80	0	0
Item, 12 layemen to sing also, and searve in the quer, every of them 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year	80	0	0
Item, 10 choristers, every of them 5 marks by the year	38	6	8
Item, a master of the children	10	0	0
Item, a gospeler	6	13	4
Item, a episler	5	6	8
Item, 2 sacristens	6	13	4
Item, 1 chief butler, his wages and diett	4	13	4
Item, 1 under butler, his wages and diett	3	6	8
Item, a cater to buye their diett, for his wages, diett, and making of his books	6	13	4

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Item, 1 chief cook, his wages and diett	4	13	4
Item, 1 under cook, his wages and diett	3	6	8
Item, 2 porters	10	0	0
Item, 12 poor men being old, and serving men, decayed by the warres, or in the king's serving, every of them at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year	80	0	0
Item, to be distributed yearly in alms	130	0	0
Item, for yearly reparations	100	0	0
Item, 6 be employed yearly, for making and mending of high wayes	40	0	0
Item, a stuard of the lands	6	13	4
Item, an auditor	10	0	0
Item, for the provost's expences, and receyving the rents, and surveying the lands, by the year	6	13	4

Number 65.

A letter of Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury, to Cromwell, upon the new foundation at Canterbury.

An original.

Cotton lib. Cleop. F. 1

My very singular good lord, after my most hartie commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordshippe, that I have received your letters, dated the 27th day of November: and therewith a bill concerning the divise for the new establishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Canterbury; by which your lordshippe requireth my advice thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents. Surely my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40*l.* a peece yearly, might be altred to a more expedient use: and this is my consideration, for having experience, both in tymes past, and also in our daies, how the said secte of prebandaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their

PART III. substaince in superfluous belly chere, I think it not to be a convenient state, or degree, to be mainteyned and established: considering firste, that commonly a prebendarie is neither a learner, nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bere all the hole rule and preheminence, in the college where they be resident: by means whereof, the younger of their own nature, given more to pleasure, good chere, and pastime, then to abstynance, studye, and lerning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebandaries being their hedds and rulers. And the state of prebandaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godlie studies, and all other vertuous exercise of preaching and teaching: wherefore if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendarie were exiled his graces foundations, but also the superfluous conditiones of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no lesse purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but for as much as both he gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offendour with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates alowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stede of the said prebendaries, were 20 divines at 10*l.* a peece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and 20 students in the tongues and French, to have 10 marks a peece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many reders be there. And surely it were great petie that so many good lectures should be there redde in vain: for as for your prebandaries, they cannot attend to applie lectures for making of good chere.

And as for your 20 children in grammar, their master and their hussher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammer, then that they have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditorie. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered what a great losse it will be, to have so many good lectures redde without profitte to any, saving to the 6 preachers; farther, as concerning the reader of divinitie and humanitie, it will not agree well, that one man should be reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinitie must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to doe as he can to prepare his lecture to be substantially redde. And in like manner he that redeth in humanitie, hath not need to alter his studie, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore, in mine opinion, it would be office for ii sundry learned men. Now concerning the dean, and others, to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can here of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, mete to be put into the said college, after my judgment: and then of the hole number, the king's highness may choose the most excellente, assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more mete for the dean's room in England, then doctor Crome, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majestie as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his grace daily remembreth all others that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highness hands. Wherefore if it will please his majestie to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans, and ministers of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides. And thus my lord you have my finale advice concerning the premisses, which I referr unto the kinges graces judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at

PART III. his highness pleasure. Sending unto your lordshipp herewithall the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most hartely fare you well.

At Croyden, the xxixth
day of November.

Your own ever assured
T. Cantuarien'.

Number 66.

A part of a letter concerning the debates of the six articles in the house of lords.

Hutton lib. Cop. E. 5. 129. AND also newes here; I assure you, never prince shew'd himself so wise a man, so well lerned and so catholick, as the kinge hath done in this parlyment. With my penne I cannot expresse his marvelous goodnes; which is come to such effecte, that we shall have an acte of parliament, so spirituall, that I think none shall dare saye, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, doth remayne eyther bred or wyne after the consecration; nor that a prist may have a wife; nor that it is necessarie to receive our Maker *sub utraque specie*; nor that private masses should not be used as they have be; nor that it is not necessarie to have auriculer confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisburie, my lord of Worcester, Rocester, and Saint Davyds defended the contrary longe tyme, yet finally his highnes confounded them all with Goddes lerning. Yorke, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlile, have shewed themselfs honest and well learned men. We of the temporaltie have been all of one opynyon, and my lord chancellor and my lord privye seale, as good as we can devise. My lord of Cant' and all theis bishopes have given ther opinion, and came into us, save Salisburie, who yet contynueth a lewed fole. Fynally, all England have cause to thank God, and most hertelie to rejoyse of the king's most godlie proceedings.

Number 67.

A letter of the visitors sent to examine the abbot of Glassenbury.

Ex MSS. D. Tanner.

PLEASE hyt your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastenbury on Fryday last past, about tenn of the clock in the forenoone: and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of hys, a myle and somewhat more from thabbey, we, without any delay, went unto the same place; and there, after certain communication, declaring unto him theffect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the truth. And then came with him the same day to the abbey; and there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and bookes: and found in his study secretly laid, aswell a written book of arguments, against the divorce of his king's majestie, and the lady dowager: which we take to be a great matter. As also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfit yfe of Thomas Bequet in print. But we could not find any letter that was materiall. And so we proceeded again to his examination, concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his canker'd and traiterous heart and mind against the king's majestie and his succession; as by the same answers, syned with his hand, and sent to your lordship by this bearer, more plainly shall appear. And so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence unto the Tower, being but a very weak man, and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the dispatching of them. We have in money, 300*l.* and above; but the certainty of plate, and other stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship, so shortly as we may. This is also to ad-

PART III.

vertise your lordship, that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners, as have bine there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: whereby we think, that he thought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's majesty. It may please your lordship, to advertise us of the king's pleasure, by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship, it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We wold that your lordship did know it, as we do; then we doubt not, but your lordship would judge it a house mete for the king's majesty, and for no man else: which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily, that there shall never come any double hood within that house again. Also this is to advertise your lordship, that there is never a one doctor within that house; but there be three batchelors of divinity, which be but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve your good lordship.

From Glastenbury, the 22d day of September.

Yours to command,
Richard Pollard.
Thomas Moyle.
Richard Layton.

To the ryght honorable, and their syngular good lord, my lord pryvye seal, thys be dd.

This agrees with the original, in the possession of Thom. Tanner.

Number 68.

Cromwell's letter to the king, when he was committed to the Tower.

Cotton lib. Titus, B. 1.

Most gracyous king, and most mercyfull soverayng, your

most humble, most obbeysand, and most bounden subject, and most lamentable servant and prysoner, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majestye, have herd your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller; which was, that I should wrytte to your most excellent highnes suche things as I thought mete to be wryttyn, consideryng my most myserable state and condicyon. For the which your most haboundant goodnes, benignite and lycens, the immortall God, three and one, rewarde your majestye. And now, most gracyous prynce, to the matter. Fyrst, Wher I have been accused to your majestye of treason, to that I saye, I never in all my lyfe thought willinglye to do that thing that might or should displease your majestye, and much less to doe or saye that thing, which of it self is so highe and abominable offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveale the trewthe to your highnes. Myne accusers your grace knoweth: God forgive them. For as I ever have had love to your honour's person, lyfe, prosperite, health, wealth, joye and comfort, and also your most dear and most entyerly beloved son, the prynce his grace, and your proceedings. God so helpe me in this myne adversyte, and confound me, yf ever I thought the contrarye. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my most bounden deutie, God also knoweth. For if it were in my power, as it is God's, to make your majestye to live ever yong and prosperous, God knoweth, I would, yf it had been, or were in my power, to make you so riche as ye myght enriche all men, God helpe me, as I would do it yf it had been, or were in my power, to make your majesty so puissaint, as all the worlde should be compellyd to obbey you, Christ he knowyth I woulde; for so am I of all other most bounde; for your majesty hath been the most bountiful prince to me, that ever was king to his subjects: ye, and more like a dear father, your majesty not offended, then a master. Such hathe been your most grave and godly councyles towards me at sundrye tymes: in that I have offended I ask your mercy. Should I now for suche exceeding goodnes, benignite, liberalite and bountye, be your traytor, nay then the greatest

PART III. paynes were too lityll for me. Should any faction, or any affection to any poynt, make me a trayter to your majestye, then all the devylls in hell confounde me, and the vengeance of God light appon me, yf I should ons have thought it. Most gracyous, soverayng lord, to my remembrance, I never spake with the chancellor of the augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one tyme. But yf I did, I am sure, I spake never of any such matyer; and your grace knoweth, what maner of man Throgmorton hath ever been towards your grace proceedings: and what master channceler hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can accuse hym. What I have been towards hym, your majestye right well knoweth. I would to Christ I hadd obeyed your often most gracious, grave counsayles and advertisments, then it had not been with me as now it is: yet our Lorde, if it be his will, can do with me, as he did with Susan, who was falsly accused. Unto the which God, I have onlye commytted my soule, and bodye and goods at your majesties pleasure, in whose mercye and pyete I do hollye repose me: for other hope than in God and your majestye, I have not. Syr, as to your common welth, I have, after my wytt, power and knowledge, travayled therin, having had no respect to persons, (your majestie onlye except, and my duty to the same) but that I have done any injustice or wrong willfully, I trust God shall be my witness, and the world not able justlye to accuse me: and yet I have not done my duty in all things, as I was bounde. Wherefore I aske mercy. That I have herde of any combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders of your laws, I have (though not as I should have done) for the most parte revealed them, and also caused them to be punished; not of malise, as God shall judge me. Nevertheless, sir, I have medelled in so many matiers under your highnes, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had will to offend your highnes. But harde it is for me, or any other medling as I have done, to live under your grace, and your lawes, but we must dailye offende: and wher I have offend-

ed, I most humbly aske mercy and pardone at your gracious will and pleasure. Amongst other things most gracious soveraigne, master comptroler shewed me, that your grace shewed hym that within these 14 days ye committed a matter of great secrecye, which I did reveal contrary to your expectacyon: syr, I do remember well the matter, which I never revelid to any creature: but this I did, sir, after your grace hade opened the matter, fyrst to me in your chamber, and declared your lamentable fate, declaring the things wich your highnes mysalyked in the queen; at which time I shewed your grace that she often desired to speak with me, but I durst not; and ye said why should I not, alleging that I might do much good in goeing to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my mind: I theruppon taking opertunyte, not being little greyved, spake prevely with her lord chamberlayn, for which I aske your grace mercie, desiryng him, not naming your grace to him, to finde some means that the queen might be inducid to order your grace plesantlie in her behaveour towards you, thinking therbie for to have hade some faults amended to your majesties comfort; and after that by general words, the said lord chamberlain, and other of the queens counsayle being with me in my chamber at Westminster, for lycens for the departure of the strange maydens, I then required them to counsayle thair mistresse to use all plesauntnes to your highnes: the which things undoutedly were bothe spoken before your majesty commited the secret matter unto me, onlie of purpose that she might have been induced to such pleasant and honorable fassyons, as might have been to your graces comfort, which above all things, as God knoweth, I did most covit and desire: but that I opened my mouth to any creature after your majestie committed the secresie thereof to me, other than onlye to my lord admyrall, which I did by your graces commandment, which was uppon Sunday last in the morning, whom I then founde as willing and glad to seek remedye ffor your comfort and resolution, and saw by him that he did as much lament your highnes fate as ever did man, and was wonderfullye grieved to see your highnes so troubled, wishing

PART III. greatly your comfort, for the attaining whereof, he said your honour salvyd, he would spend the best blood in his body, and if I would not do the like, ye, and willingly die, for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receyve a thousand deths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that matter, and if I have offended your majestie therin, prostrate at your majesty's feet, I most lowlye aske mercy and pardon of your highnes. Sir, ther was also laide unto my charge at mine examinacion, that I had retained contrarye to your lawes; and what exposycion may be made uppon retaynours, I know not, but this will I saye, if ever I retayned any man, but such onlye as were my howshold servants, but against my will, God confound me. Most gracious soveraign I have been so called on and sewyd to by them that said they were my friends, that constrained therunto I retayned thayr chyldren and friends, not as retayners, for their fathers and parents did promise me to finde them, and so toke I them, not as retayners, to my great charge, and for none evil, as God best knoweth, interpret to the contery who will. Most humbley beseeching your majestie of pardon, if I have offended therin; and I do knowledge my self to have been a most miserable and wretched siner; and that I have not towards God and your highnes behaved my self as I ought and should have done; for the which mine offence to God, whiles I live I shall contynually call for his mercy, and for mine offences to your grace, which God knoweth wer never malicious, nor willfull: and that I never thought treson to your highnes, your realme, or posterite: so God helpe me, either in word, or dede; nevertheles, prostrate at your majesty's feet in what thing soever I have offended; I appell to your highnes for mercy, grace, pardon, in such wise as shall be your pleasure; beseeching the Allmightie Maker, and Redeemer of this world, to send your majesty continuall and long helth, welthe, and prosperitie, with Nestor's yeres to reigne, and your most dear son, the princes grace, to prosper alwayes, and contenew after you: and they that would contrarye, short life, shame, and confusion: writin with the quaking

hand, and most sorrowfull harte, of your most sorrowfull subject, and most humble servant, and prisoner, this Satyrday at the Tour of London. BOOK III.

Thomas Crumwell.

Number 69.

Questions concerning the sacraments.

The first question.

WHAT a sacrament is by the scripture?

The second question.

What a sacrament is by the antient authors?

The third question.

How many sacraments there be by the scriptures?

The fourth question.

How many sacraments there be by the antient authors?

The fifth question.

Whether this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only? And whether the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors?

The sixth question.

Whether the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine, either of the scripture, or of the old authors, and so to be taught?

The seventh question.

What is found in scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and vertue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?

The eighth question.

Whether confirmation, *cum chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in scripture?

The ninth question.

Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?

The tenth question.

Whether bishops or priests were first? And if the priests were first, than the priest made the bishop.

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The eleventh question.

Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?

The twelfth question.

Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

The thirteenth question.

Whether (if it fortuned a Christian prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) if it be defended by God's law, that he, and they, should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute priests, or no?

The fourteenth question.

Whether it be forefended by God's law, that (if it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, and the sacrament of baptism, and others unministred,) that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

The fifteenth question.

Whether a man be bound by authority of this scripture, (*Quorum remiseritis*) and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no?

The sixteenth question.

Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

The seventeenth question.

Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the scripture, or in any antient authors?

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a answer to the former queries; with some remarks on them, in the king's hand written on the margin: together with some persons names; but these are not written by the king.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 5.

1. SCRIPTURE useth the worde; but it defin- Why then should we call them so?
h it not.

2. In them is founde no proper definition, but general declaration of the worde, as a token of holly thinge.

3. So named only matrimony; in effects moo; l at the lest 7, as we finde in the scripture exunded.

4. Auctors use the word *sacrament*, to sig- Why these seven to have the name, more then the ie any mysterye in the Old and New Testa- rest?
nt; but spiritually denote baptisme, eucka-, matrimonie, chrisme, *impositio manuum*, lo.

5. The worde, bycause it is general, is attri- Arch-bp. Cant. S. David's. Why then hath the te to other thenne the seven; but whether it church so long erred, to ght specially to be applied to the one only, take upon them so to name d knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it soe them?
it hath been received.

6. The thing of al is found, but not named al raments, as afore.

7. The doctrine of scripture is to teach the nge, without numbring or namyng the name *rament*, saving only the matrimony.

Old auctors number not precisely.

8. Scripture speaketh,

(1.) Of baptisme manifestly.

(2.) Of the holy communion manifestly.

(3.) Of matrimony manifestly.

(4.) Of absolution manifestly.

(5.) Of bishops, priests and deacons, ordred *impositionem manuum cum oratione*, exssely.

Arch-bp. Cant. Then pennance is changed to a new name, the absolution of pennance. I read that without it we cannot be saved after relapse, but not so of absolution: and pennance to sinners is commanded, but absolution of open crimes is left free to the askers.

Laying on of hands being an old ceremony, is but a small proof of confirmation.

6. Laying of the hands of the bishop after baptisme, which is a parte of that is done in confirmation, is grounded in scripture.

Arch.Cant. S.David's,Cox. Then shew where.

7. Unction of the sick, with prayer, is grounded in scripture.

Arch. bp. Cant. S. David's. The answer is not direct, and yet it proveth nither of the two parts to be grounded in scripture.

The thing of confirmation is found in scripture; the name *confirmation* is not there.

Of chrisma scripture speaketh not expressly; but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed synnes the beginning.

Where is this distinction? Now, since you confess that the apostles did occupate the one part, which you now confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to you bishops?

Ubi hoc?
Arch-bp. Cant.
S. David's, Cox.
Arch. Cant.
B. David's.

9. The calling, naming, appointment, and preferment of one before an other, to be bishop or priest, had a necessite to be don in that sort, a prince wanting. The ordering appereth taught by the Holy Gost in the scripture, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.*

10. Bishops, or not after.

11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high powers as his prince Christianed) to order a priest, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione:* and so it hath been from the beginning.

12. Of ꝑther, scriptures speaketh not.

Manuum impositio cum oratione is required, which is a consecration; so as only appointing is not sufficient.

13. It is to be thought, that God in such care assisting the perfection of such an enterprize, would further teach and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he should and might doe, more then is yet openly taught by the scripture: which, in that case, were a good warrent to folow. For a secret vocation supplieth, where an open wanteth.

14. Sinnes the beginning of Christes churche, wherin Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath had a derivation from one to another, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* How it should begin again of an other

face, where it faileth by a case, scripture telleth not; no doctor writte of it, that I have rede.

15. Bound ordinarely. Arch. Cant.

16. They may, being before of their prince auctorised to minister for open, publike, dedly synne. Arch. Cant. Bp. S. David's.

Of excommunication by others, we rede not in the New Testament.

17. The thing is in scripture, and in auncient authors, according wherunto the use should be: how it is in dede used, is a matter of fact, and not of lernyng. Arch. Cant. B. S. David's.

Against the 15th article, these names are set down.

Yorke.	Curwen.	Edgworth.
Duresme.	Simon.	Day.
Carlisle.	Oglethorp.	Redman.
Winchester.		Robinson.

And a little below.

Canterbury.	Laton.
Hereford.	Tresham.
Rochester.	Cox.
Westminster.	Crayford.
S. David's.	

But these lists are not in the king's hand.

Number 71.

Answers to these queries.

1. SCRIPTURE sheweth not what it is: but useth the worde *sacrament* in Latyn for the worde *misterium* in Greek. Cotton lib. Cleop. E. 5.

2. *Sacrament*, by the authours is called, *sacri rei signum*, or *visibile signaculum*, *sacrosanctum signaculum*, *visibile verbum*, *visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ*; and perfytt diffinition we fynde noone.

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3. In scripture, we fynde no determynate number of sacraments.

4. There be very many in the most general signification; and there is no precise, or determinate number of sacraments in the ancyent authours.

5. Not only to the seven; but to many more. We fynde in the olde auctours, matrymony, the holly communyon, baptisme, confirmation, ordre, pennance, and extrem unction. In pennance, it is doubted of the name of *sacrament*.

6. As touching the determinate numbre of seven only, we fynd neyther in the scripture, nor auncient auctours, any such doctrine that ther shulde be seven onely.

7. Of *baptisme*, scripture speaketh, that by it synnes be remitted.

Of *eucharistia*; that we be united by it to Christe, and receive thereby spirituall nurrishment, to the comforte of our soulles, and remission of our synnes.

Of *matrymony*; that the acte of it is made lawfull, and without synne; and grace given, wherby to directe ordinately of the lustes and appetites of the fleshe.

Of *pennance*; that by it we be restored again to the favour of God; from which we did fall by synne.

Of *ordre*; that by it, grace is given to mynistre effectually in preachinge the worde of God, and ministration of the sacramentes.

Of *confirmation*, (which is conteyned in scripture, speaking *de impositione manuum post baptisma*) it appeareth by scripture, how thereby encrease of grace is given.

Of *inunction of the sick*, scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the priestes, comforte is given to the sicke, and synnes be forgeven him.

8. *Impositionem manuum post baptisma*, which we call confirmation, we reade in the scripture: but that it was don *chrismate*, we fynde not in the scripture expressed. But in the old auctours, we fynde, that *chrisma* hath been used in the sayd confirmation.

9. *Making of bishops* hath two partes; appointment and ordering. Appointment; whiche the apostles, by ne-

cessity, made by common election, and sometyme by their own severall assignement, could not then be don by Christen princes; because at that tyme they were not: and now, at these dayes, apperteineth to Christian princes and rulers. But, in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, as afore the apostells did folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, *per manuum impositionem, cum oratione et jejunio.* BOOK III.

10. Christe made his apostles first, which were of his making bothe prestes and bishops; but whether at one time, some doubt.

After that, the apostells made bothe bishops and prestes: the names wherof in the scripture be confounded.

11. A bishop having auctorite of his Christian prince to give orders, maye, by his ministerye geven to him of God in scripture, ordeyne a preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a bishope, hathe, sence the beginning of Christ's churche, ordered a preste.

12. Onely appointment is not sufficient, but consecration, that is to saye, imposition of handes, with fasting and prayour, is also required. For so the apostles used to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually: and we have not rede the contrary.

13. In that necessite, the prince and his lerned men shulde preache and teache the worde of God, and baptize. But as for making and constituting prestes, the prince shall and may thenne do as God shall thenne by inspiration teache him: which God hath promised to do allwayes to his church, in reuling and teaching every necessary knowledge, where any doubt requiring discussion dothe arryse.

14. The aunswer to the other question next before dissolveth this.

15. He that knoweth himself gylty of any secrete deadly synns, must, if he will obteine the benefite of absolucion ministred by the preste, confesse the same secrete synnes unto him.

Absolution to be ministred by a preste, if a convenient preste may be had, is necessarie.

ART III. *Absolution* by a preste is the surest waye, if he may be conveniently had.

16. Bishopes and prestes auctorised by the prince, may excommunicate, by Godes lawe, for publique and open crimes: but that other thenne bishopes or prestes may excommunicate, we have not rede in scripture. Some scolemen saye, that other thenne prestes, or bishopes deputed therunto by the churche, maye excommunicate; because it is an acte *jurisdictionis*, and not *ordinis*.

17. We fynde it spoken of in scripture, and in olde authors.

Number 72.

The examination of Q. Katherine Howard.

Being again examined by my lord of Canterbury of contracts and communications of marriage between Deerham and me: I shall here answer faithfully and truely, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment; and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament that I received upon Allhallowes-day last past. First, I do say, that Deram hath many times moved unto me the question of matrimony; wherunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confessed: and as for these words, *I promise you, I do love you with all my heart*, I do not remember that ever I spake them. But as concerning the other words, that I should promise him by my faith and troth, that I would never other husband but him, I am sure I never spake them.

Examined what tokens and gifts I gave to Deram, and he to me: I gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. And he gave me a heart's-ease of silk for a new-years-gift, and an old shirt of fine Holland or Cambricke, that was my lord Thomas shirt, and my lady did give it him. And more than this, to my remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, saving this sommer ten pounds about the beginning of the progresse.

Examined whether I did give him a small ring of gold upon this condition, that he should never give it away. To my knowledge I never gave him no such ring, but I am assured upon no such condition.

Examined whether the shirt, band, and sleeves were of my own work. They were not of my work; but, as I remember, Clifton's wife of Lambeth wrought them.

And as for the bracelet of silkwork, I never gave him none; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any ruby, I never gave him none to set in ring, nor for other purpose. As for the French fenel, Deram did not give it me, but he said there was a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was very cunning in making all manner of flowers. And I desired him to cause her to make a French fenel for me, and I would pay him again when I had money. And when I was first come into court, I paid him as well for that, as for diverse other things, to the value of five or six pound. And truth it is, that I durst not wear the said French fenel, until I had desired my lady Breerton to say that she gave it me.

As for a small ring with a stone, I never lost none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for velvet and satten for billyments, a cap of velvet with a feather, a quilted capp of sarcenet and money, he did not give me, but at my desire he laid out money for them to be paid again. For all which things I paid him, when I came into the court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted cap, but only the sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the same to a little fellow in my lady's house, as I remember, his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what work he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with Freer's knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man. Neverthelesse, when it was made, Deram said, What wife here be Freer's knots for Fraunce.

As for the indenture and obligation of an hundred pound, he left them in my custody, saying, that if he never came again, he gave them clearly unto me. And when I asked

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him whether he went, he said he would not tell me untill his return.

Examined whether I called him husband, and he me wife. I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together; and some of his enemies had envy thereat, wherefore, he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband. And I said I was content. And so after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband. And he used many times to kiss me, and so he did to many other commonly in the house. And, I suppose, that this be true, that at one time when he kissed me very often, some said that were present, *they trowed that he would never have kissed me enough.* Whereto he answered, *Who should lett him to kiss his own wife?* Then said one of them, *I trowe this matter will come to passe as the common saying is. What is that?* quoth he. *Marry*, said the other, *That Mr. Deram shall have Mrs. Katherine Howard. By St. John*, said Deram, *you may guesse twice, and guesse worse.* But that I should wink upon him, and say secretly, *What and this should come to my lady's ear?* I suppose verily there was no such thing.

As for carnall knowledge, I confess as I did before, that diverse times he hath lyen with me, sometime in his doublet and hose, and two or thre times naked: but not so naked that he had nothing upon him, for he had alwayes at the least his doublet, and as I do think, his hose also, but I mean naked when his hose were putt down. And diverse times he would bring wine, strawberryes, apples, and other things to make good chear, after my lady was gone to bed. But that he made any special banquet, that by appointment between him and me, he should tarry after the keyes were delivered to my lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did steale the keyes my self, nor desired any person to steal them, to that intent and purpose to lett in Deram, but for many other causes the doores have been opened, sometime over night, and sometime early in the morning, as well at

the request of me, as of other. And sometime Deram hath come in early in the morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my request, nor consent.

And that Wilks and Baskervile should say, what shifts should we make, if my lady should come in suddenly. And I should answer, that he should go into the little gallery. I never said that if my lady came he should go into the gallery, but he hath said so himself, and so he hath done indeed.

As for the communication of my going to the court, I remember that he said to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the house. And I said again, that he might do as he list. And further communication of that matter, I remember not. But that I should say, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he should never live to say thou hast swerved, or that the teares should trickle down by my cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my company, knew how glad and desirous I was to come to the court.

As for the communication after his coming out of Ireland, is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then asked me, if I should be married to Mr. Culpepper, for so he said he heard reported. Then I made answer, What should you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know.

Katherine Howard.

Number 73.

A letter of sir W. Paget's, of his treating with the admiral of France. An original.

Paper-Office.

PLEASE it your most excellent majestie to be advertised that the 16th of this present, I received letters from my lordes, and others of your majesties privey counsail, conteyning such several conferences as your majestie, and certain of your said counsail, have had with the French ambassader there sithens my last dispeche. And yesterday having the furst opertunitie to speke with the admiral, I said unto

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him, that albeit it was likelyhode that the king, his master's ambassader then in England, did from time to time advertise them of the processe of the matier now in treatie; yet your majestie reputing him to be a man of honor and singular vertue, and such a one, as with right judgment doth consyder the hole state of his master's causes, with the circumstances; and therefore conceiving no little affection towards him, had commanded me to signifie unto him, to the intent he might knowe certainly the plainnes of every thing, what communication had now last been had with their ambassodor there. For the which, rising from his seate, and making a gret and humble reverence; after that he had given thanks unto your majestie, and with two or three great othes declared his affection towards you; I entred the accomplishment of your majesties commandment. And when I had declared unto him from point to point at length, and word by word (for it was a lesson meet to be learned without book) as is conteyned in the said letter, aswel the communicacion had with your counsail at the furst congresse, and such kingly and philosophicall conference as your majestie had with him your self; as also the seven points uttered by your majesties counsail at their last assemblies; and finally, the epiloge of all together pronounced of your said counsail as of themselfs; which he herd all together, not without twenty sighes, and casting up his eyes, for I marked him when he was not ware of it; accrossing himself, and gyving a gret sigh, he saide, As for the amytie which ought to be between our masters, how much I have travailed, and do travaile for the confirmation of it, God is my judge; and almost all the world knoweth that I am an English-French man, and that next after my master, I esteem the king your master's finger, more than I do any prince's body in all the world, and would be glad to give all the goods I have in the world, that this matter went through between them; for I perceive by my master that he will not lyve alone, and yet I am sure he will seek no new friendship, nor accept none offred, until the king your master have refused this. As touching this matter, I knowe

they be two princes of such honour, and of wise conduct in all their things; that though this marriage had never been spoken of, they would have continued friends according to their treaties, and this overture was never opened, neither for confirmation, nor for encrease of amitie between them; for greater cannot be, but marriage and commiction of blood with blood, doth unite and knit generation to generation, and posteritie; the benefit whereof how great it will be; how many inconveniencies may therby be avoided by processe of time; the wisest man may soner think then be able to express. But, alas, said he, what is two hundred thousand crowns to give in marriage with so great a king's daughter to monsieur Dorleans. Four hundred, five hundred thousand is nothing to him; monsieur Dorleans is a prince of great courage; monsieur Dorleans doth aspire to great things, and such is his fortune, or els I am wonderfully deceyved. It will grieve my master much when he shall here of this basse offer, as we have not herd yet from our ambassador; I marvail therof not a little; nay to tell you plainly, as one friend shuld tell another, there is farre gretter offers, if we would herken unto them, we might have in redy money with the daughter of Portugall, foure hundred thousand ducates, with the increase that hath grown of it sithens her father's departure, which will amount to asmuch and more. At the furst breaking of this matter, it was said the man must desyre the woman; now that we have desired her, you will give nothing with her, for what is two hundred thousand crowns, and herewithall giving a great sigh, stayed. And I because I perceived his tale, such as was meet to be answered, said unto him, Monsieur l'admiral I have no more to say unto you on my master's behalf, then I have said unto you allready. But for because you have made a long discourse as it were sumewhat replying to that that I have reaported; if it shall like you to give me leave to say myn own fantasye, as a man that would this thing shuld take effect, if it may be equally done, I woll saye it. Yes, quoth he, with all my hart: why shuld not we talke together friendly, as two that be servants

ART III. to two great friends; and I neither to take your words to be spoken as of an ambassader, nor you to take my words to be spoken of him that holdeth the place about his master that I do? Sir, quoth I, as touching the benevolence you bear unto my master, you may think it well employed; as well for that my master (I think) conceirneth like opinion of you in that parte, as also for that you have proved my master alwayes to be a perfaict friend unto your master. And to saye to you frankelly myn opinion: albeit I am no man at home, neither of great place, nor of great counsaile, yet have I beene of court: and men, you knowe, of like sorte, whenne they mete together, will be oftentymes talking of matiers that they have litle to do in, and bable of heresayes. And I being one of that sorte, have many tymes herd, that my master hath been allwayes much affected unto your master, and hath shewed towards him great kindnes, when that if he would have taken offers for the contrary, he might have had inestimable benefites. Yea, and that he hath been so well mynded unto your master, that neither the maner of your truce taken with the emperor, nor your strangenes at the emperor's being here, nor Pole's passage, nor the conveying of Brancester, nor the reteyning of the hosyer that called himself Blancherose, nor Cowbridge, nor nothing els could alienate him from you, such hath been his friendship towardes you. And therfore, (I said) if you love him, *vous aves raison*. And if you have set furth this mariage for love, let it appere. Is not two hundred thousand crowns a faire offer? I graunt you well, that monsieur D'orleanns aspireth to gret things, and is of great courage: and reason it is, for he is a great king's sonne; and such a king, as both may and must, if he will have his courage mainteyned, give him wherwithall. It is not reason, that my master shuld mainteyn his courage. My master hath a sonne of his owne, whom I trust he shall live to see a man of courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him therafter. And as for his daughter, he doth consyder her as reason requyreth. Had king Lowys any more with one of my master's systers, than three hundred thousand

crownes; and the king of Scotts, with another, any more than one hundred thousand? If our friendship be advisable unto you, (for that was his terme,) as you say it is, seke it by reasonable meane, I doubt not but you shall obteine it; and ask reasonably with her, and it shall be granted you to. By my truth, quoth he, and so we doe. Doe you so? quoth I. I have allwayes noted you a man of reasone, and so reaported you: turne the case, quoth I. Would you remitt eight hundred thousand crownes, discharge an hundred thousand a year, for the mariage of your daughter? Yea, by my trouth, would I; quoth he. For the eight hundred thousand crowns I compte nothing: and as for the pension, she shuld have redubled here in France; and we would be amys to amys, and enemies to enemies: I meane, *pour la defence de nostre estats*, quoth he. *Par nostre Dame*, quoth I, you shall not be myn auditour. Here is all the matier, quoth I. You take a wrong pathe: you compte these eight hundred thousand crownes nothing; and we, if it were wayed in an indifferent ballance, think they should waye down tenne hundred thousand. We have a saying in England, *A penny at a time is worth a pound*. He that should lend me three or four hundred crowns at my nede, shuld do me even more pleasure, then to offer me tenne hundred when I neded not: so much esteme I money lent at such a tyme. Consyder our parte, quoth he, and we must knowledge it great: consyder your parte, quoth he, it is nothing. The payn is past, and not to be reckened upon. You say not much amiss, quoth I, if we had an evil debter; but our debter is riche ynough, and a good debter. And though he have been bold of a long respite with his friend, yet he will pay it, quoth I. I doubt not, quoth he, but the princes will observe their treaties. My master hath, and will, I am sure, quoth I; and so I think will yours. I wot not what to say, quoth he. Marrye, quoth I, do that that I have said heretofore: aske reasonably for the dote, and make a recyproque for the rest, if you would be eased of it. Marke this, for it is to be embraced, and a great mariage to monsieur D'orleanns. By

PART III. my trouth, quoth he, the dote you have offered is nothing: and if I wer as king Lewys and the king of Scotts wer, I would rather take your daughter in her kyrtel, and more honour were it for me, then, being monsieur D'orleanns, to take her with eight hundred thousand crowns. But I wote not what you meane by that reciproque. Mary, quoth I, it is to do somthing again of like goodnes to the thing that you desire to have done unto you. As, quoth I, you desire to have our daughter, and for her you will give your sonne: there is one for an other. Your sonne is the reciproque of our daughter. You would have two hundred thousand crownes with her; the reciproque of that must be a like jointer. Here is sonne for daughter, dowery for dote. Now, if you will be discharged of 600000 crowns; what other thing, that is as good, shall we have for that, and also for our pencion? Devise a reciproque. O monsieur l'ambassedeur, quoth he, I understand your reciproque well. The king your master is a gentle prince, and a great prince; and what grive shuld it be to him, to lett passe eight hundred thousand crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In faith, quoth I, seing he hath borne so long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you sumwhat longer for sum: and if you will give some in hand, I think he will give you terms for the rest. Ah monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he! and shoke his head. As for the pension, quoth he, you shall have a reciproque here, a dowery mete for it. Nay, quoth I, your relative agreeth with a wrong antecedent. My master is the antecedent, and the reciproque must be to him, and not to monsieur D'orleans, for he should have the benefite by it. Nay, quoth he, it is your master's daughter, and it is no more but for your master to give from himself to his daughter. Ywys, the queen of Navarre's daughter is a greatter mariage. And as for the eight hundred thousand, if I were a right man, and able to give, I would paye a great pece of it my self, er it shuld stick. What the queen of Navarre's daughter is, I know not, quoth I: but if you might have my master's daughter upon these conditions, you might say, you had

such a mariage as was never herd of. And here we stay'd both. At the last, quoth he, sudenly, When it was told me yesternight, that you sent to speke with me, I thought it was for these matiers: and all this night I have turned and tossed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been spoken of, if it take not effect. And evyn now cummyth into my head the overture that the king your master made ones unto me. What overture was that? quoth I. Mary, quoth he, the overture of the mariage of the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; you to have had recompence for the perpetuel pencion upon monsieur de Vandome's lands: and for the pencion vyager, to have bene converted to a estate. Without any other recompence? quoth I. Yes, quoth he. We shuld have bene enemys to enemys, and left the bishop of Rome. That was sumwhat, quoth I; and yet not a reciproque; because you shuld not have given as good as you tooke. But then, was none arrerage? quoth I. And here he paused again. I will tell you my fantasy, quoth he; but you shall promise me by your faith, that I shall never heare of it again. I woll speke it unto you, as a friende to a friende; and peradventure neither of both parties will like it. Sir, quoth I, you shall never take dishonour by things you shall say to me. What, quoth he, if the overture shuld take effect in one parte? As how? quoth I. Mary, quoth he, the arrerage to be remitted, for the mariage of your daughter. And because you think it great, we to becum friends to friends, and enemys to enemys, and so to enter warre together: and of that, that shuld be conquered by commyn expenses, to lay out first a recompence for your pension viager, and the perpetuel pencion to be supplied, as the king your master devised. How like you this devise? quoth he. Mary, said I, if you will heare a fool's answer, I like it not: for what need we to fight for that we have allready? Mary, quoth he, then you shuld have it *in perpetuum*. What if you desyred this for a reciproque? Mary, quoth I, peradventure my master might purchase more land another waye than that might cost him. Why shuld we desire warre?

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quoth I; we have no quarrell. It is true, quoth he; but we would be the authors. And if you covenanted to be enemye to enemye, would you not joyne warre with us? By my trouth, sir, quoth I, you be entred now into a deep matier, which passeth my capacitie. It is a great matier indeed, quoth he: but I talk with you privement, neither because I would have you to declare this to your master, nor for that I will declare it to myne: and yet both you and I may use meanes to the same ende. Well, quoth I, I see you make cursey at the matier, and would have a great commodity, and yet are loth to offer for it. But I say unto you as a friend, aske, and offer reasonably, and go roundly to worke, and make an ende of it. For, I fear, I may say to you, if you will not, others will. Yea, quoth he, we knowe the emperor practiseth with you, as he doth with us; and that the bishop of London hath brought him three fayre palfreys from the king your master, for a present. I name no man, quoth I: but whether the emperor practiseth with you, I reaport me to his offers and his demands. I think, he practiseth with us both, quoth he, onely to dissever us: for with your master he will not joyne, onles he will returne again unto the pope. For so his nuntio told the chancelor, and the chancelour told the queen of Navarre; who fell out with him upon the occasion of that conference, and told him, he was ill ynough before, but now sithens he hath gotten the marke of the beast, (for so she called it, because he was lately made priest,) he was worse and worse. But to my purpose, quoth he: I think the emperor practiseth with us both; he seeketh nothing els, but to dissever us. You speake of his offers and his demaunds, quoth he; knowe you what they be? No, quoth I. And yet, indeed, I did cume by the knowledge of them within 24 howres before. Mary, quoth he, he would make the duke of Orleains king of Naples, and give us the seigneurye of Flanders. They be faire offers, quoth I: but what be his demands? Wherat he smiled. By my trouth, quoth he, I will tell you. He desireth a renunciation of the title of Milan and Navarre, and the restitution

of Piedmount and Savoy. What say you to it? quoth I. The king, my master, will none of it, quoth he; for he thinketh, that the next war that shuld fall, being so great distance between the father and the sonne, the emperor would send the duke of Orleains to his father, *une baton blanche*. I have herd saye, quoth I, the duke of Cleves also laboureth now sore to have his wife home, and smyled therwith. Why, quoth he, heare you any thing? Yea, mary, quoth I; I hear saye, the emperor is in great practise with the duke of Cleves; and that he hath made him half a promise, that for to have Gelders quietly, he and his wife will renounce the title of Navarre. Which indeed I had never herd. But musing upon the word before, it came into my head at that time, and chauncyng then to speake it, I strucke the admirall into a great dumpe. Wherin, when he had pawsed a great while, I said, Sir, I desease you. No, no, monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he: she is too young and sickly, to go out of this country. When monsieur de Cleves, quoth he, hath done the king sume good service, and declared himself to all the world to be *pour le roy*, then shall he have his wife. You know what you have to do, sir, quoth I: but seeing you see the world so full of practises, it is good dealing with them that meane plainly. Yo say trouth, quoth he; and so it is. We knowe, the emperor doth nothing but practise with us, as he doth with your master: and we knowe, how he offereth your master, to accord hym with the pope, without breache of his honour; and that it shall be at the pope's suite. I am privye, quoth I, of no suche mattiers; but if the emperor desyre my master's friendship, I cannot greately blame him, consyderinge he knoweth partely by his own experience, and partely by evident tokens towards other men, my master is a friendly friend. And as for the bishop of Rome, quoth I, if he sue to be restored to my master's favour again; I think it will be herd for him to obteyn it, for vertue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. Call you him vice, quoth he, he is the very Divel. I trust once to see his confusion. I have begune to pick

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him a little, I trust to pick him better. Every thing must have a tyme and a beginning. But when begin you, quoth I; I think, quoth he, er it be ought long. The king, my master, will converte all the abbeis of his realme, into the possession of his laye gentlemen, and so go furth by little and little, (if you will join with us) to overthrow him alltogether; why may not we have a patriark here in France? Which purpose, I think, he doth perceive, and his legate therfore, now in Almayn, offred that for a reformation there should be a council called, and appointed the place either Mantua, Verona, or Cambray: he had as lief be hanged, quoth he, as have a general council; and even then will that be his sentence. I would fayne see you ones begyne somewhat, quoth I. A monsieur le ambassadeur, quoth he, I am sherewdely matched. Why so, quoth I, is not your master a king, and if he mynde that you speak of, who can match you? He savoreth woundrous well, quoth he, but every thing I saye must have a tyme: who was a greater champyon for the pope then was your master, now who is more contrary? If they might ones, quoth he, speke together, I think it will be one of the grettest benifites that ever came to Chrisendome, but that cannot well be, untill these matiers cum to some nerer point. The faulte is not in us, quoth I, that it is not at a nerer point. Nor it shall not be long of us, quoth he; but paradventure sum of your master's counsail moveth him more to the emperor's friendship. And what is that friendship in comparison of this friendship. England is a kingdome perpetuel, and so is France. Our masters, their children, their succession, maye joyne for ever. We be under one clyme, and of one complexion: we be at hande one to another. The emperor is but one, and when he is dead, sum Almayn may be emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, Spayne is a kingdome, but what is that alone: as for Flanders, it shall be our friend if we joyne together. And as for Italy, when the emperor is dead, who shall be master trowe you. And if the emperor might live allways, what is his friendship? He careth not if friend, father, and all together shuld sinke, so as his in-

atiable desyre to reign might be satisfied: did he not suf- er two of his brethren-in-lawe to perishe for lack of fifty housand crowns; furst the king of Hungarye, and after ie king of Denmark, whom he might have restored with n thousand crowns. He is a covetous man, saving the onour of a prince, and yet he is now base ynough, and erefore let us take him while he is lowe, before he take is breth. Sir, quoth I, you are a man of a great trade, and owe to discourse of things better then I am able to con- yve. If you esteem the effect of this matier so necessary r you, and the emperor's friendship such as you speke of; ke then a direct waye for the compassing of it. And if ou have any thing in your stomachs, that you would have ttered, but not to many, let your ambassadour utter it to m one, and lett him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and at is the next waye to make an ende. Would God mon- eur le ambassadeur, quoth he, it lay in my hande, it uld then be sone at an ende. Put to your good will, quoth , in an honest cause, God will help you: I marvaile much, uoth he, we here not from our ambassader there; so do I, uoth I, by lykelyhod he is ill at ease, or his man is sike by he way, or some other like matier. When send you into ngland? quoth he: I have no great matiers to write of, uoth I; and yet I am determined within a day or two to end into England; for I have appointed my bank to be ade at Paris, but now I must sende to have it changed to yons; because I here saye the king goeth thither. I pray ou, quoth he, conveye a lettre to our ambassadeur in Eng- and, which I will send to you to morrow, which I promised im. And brake our communication, and so ready to de- art, and standing, I asked him whither the ambassadeur as come to the king out of Almayn, or no? He asked me hich ambassadeur? I told him for aid against the Turk. o, no, quoth he; thinketh men my master is so unwise to id the emperor and king Ferdinand for the defence of ungarye, their private dominion? Should my master ainteyn their state at his dispens, which keep his state om him? Not but if it wer to defend Almayn, my master

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Sir, your majestie hath heard truely reported, the diverse communication and varietie of matier that hath passed between the admirall and me: wherin when I consyder myn accustomed protestations me thinketh, he shuld take none advantage of me; and on the other side, when I remember the simplenes of my wit with the scarcitie of myn experience, joynyng therewithall their proceeding with other your majesties ambassadeurs heretofore, whose saing they reporte at will for their purposes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that sumthing may have passed me to hotely, sum what to coldly, sumthing spoken more then neded, or sumthing left out that shuld have been spoken. But sure you ar my sayntuary, and my trust is only in your equanimitie; whom I beseech most humbly of your gracious and favourable interpretation, and of your benignitie, to consyder that this is the furst time that ever I came *in arenam;* and he with whom I am matched is an old player; nevertheless, if I had experience, or wit to judge a man, I would think him by his words and countenance to be none imperiall, and an utter enemye to Rome; and yet I must note a practise in him, for that he hath promised me twise one shuld be sent over, and none is yet sent. And besides that, whereas he hath told me heretofore, that no man knewe of this last treatye, but he and madame Destampes, adding yesterday the queen of Navarre. I know of the demands the ambassadeur hath made there, by other meanes then by your majesties signification: but your majestie knoweth him farre better I am sure, than my foolishe wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your most excellent wisdom the judgment of his proceedings, the circumstance whereof your majestie knoweth without addition or diminucion of any thing, as nere as I could carye it away.

As touchinge the occurrents of this court, it may please your majestie to be advertised, that the emperor's grand

ɔcuyer passed by Paris eight days agone into Flanders, ınd came not att the court.

It is said here that the emperor is in great practise with ɾour majestie, for the marriage of the lady Mary, your ɱajesties daughter, which they think here the rather to be ɾue, for that you have sent the bishop of London to be ɪmbassador there, whom they note here to be an imperial, aing commonly that the marriage between France and Ɛngland is dashed.

Certain merchants of Lyons, and monsieur Langey, a ɱartener with them, have sentence for them of threescore ınd tenne thousand crowns against the state of Florence, ınd reprisalls out for execution.

Salmaiti and Antenori, two Florentynes, having their ɔouses in Lyons, who wer *fidejussores de solvendo indicato*, ɔe fled into the emperor's dominion into Bresse.

The Florentynes take the matier greviously, and think ɦere is no justice in France, for they had moved theyr case ɔefore in all the universities and courts of Italy, and think-ng it out of doubt, offred to put it to the judgement of France, wherof now they repent them, and will in no wise ɨtand to it. And to advertise your majesty of the case ɔriefly; the state of Florence bought of certain marchants ɔf Lyons a quantitie of wheat to such a sume, to be deli-ɾered at Florence before such a day. The wheat arryved ɲot before eight daies after the tyme appointed. The Flo-ɾentines, constreyned by necessity, provided themselves ɔther ways, and say the bargain is voyde. The Lyonnois ılledge *tempestatem* for the lett, and say that *emptio* is *con-ɬractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the Florentynes must fullfill their bargayn; and so leaving their wheate there, ɯent there wayes.

Error is founde in the admirall's processe, and the sentence ɾevoked; wherby the application of his lands to the crown, ınd the *amende pecuniaire* that he shuld have made to di-verse townes here in Bourgoyn is adnichilated, and he *re-stitutus in integrum*.

I thinke your majestie heareth from your agent at Venice

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that James Bey, sumtyme a Christian man, is cuming from the Turcque in ambassade to Venice; and, as I think, by this time arryved there, if the empereur have not intercepted him, who hath layed waye for him in Ragusa: his cuming is nothing pleasant to the Venycians; the cause therof being as the Venycians conjecture, the same that I have written to your majestie before; that is to saye, passage through their cuntrey, or to be enemyes to enemyes, or to redeem the same with sum great sumes of money, if nothing els be asked.

Seignior Horacio being heretofore accustomed to be lodged at the court, or near as the place required, is lodged now four leaggs of, and yet the king lyeth in a great town; wherof the nuntio's secretarye complayning to the admirall, the admirall answered him in coler, he had one gyven him, and he refused it. We cannot give him here a palais as though he were at Paris, and turned his back, and would talk no longer with the secretary.

I sende unto your majestie herewith an other charte of Algiere, set furth after a sorte, with the emperor's assiege before it; the plate wherof varieth from the other I sent your majestie before: and yett I trust your majestie will take the same in good parte; for as they came to my hands, being sent to such personages as they wer; thone to the French king, and this to the duke of Ferrare; I thought it my duety to sende both unto your majestie, leaving unto your excellent wisedome the judgment, whither this, or the other be true, or neither of them bothe.

I sende also unto your majestie a little book, both printed here in Paris, conteyning the conclusion of their dyet in Almayn against the Turk; whither the same be true, or no, I doubt not but your majestie knoweth by such advertisements as you have out of those partes. And thus having nothing els to writte unto your majestie at this time, I beseche God to send you most prosperously and long to reigne. From Chabliz in Bourgoyn, the 19th of April.

Your majesties most humble, faithful, and
obedient subject, servant, and daily oratour,
William Pagett.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER I had written to your majestie this letter redy to send the same furthwith; and defferring the dispeche onely uppon attendance of the admirall's letter, to be conveyed into England; because the same came not, I sent the same night one to the courte, which is four long leaggs hens to the admirall to know his minde therin; which messenger he returned to me with this letter herincloced, written and defaced as your majestie seith the same; upon motion wherof, I was at his lodging the next day, by eight in the morning, but I found him not there. At my cumming a letter was delivered me from certain of your majesties privy counsail, the tenor wherof, both before and sithens I have observed as far as my wit can extend, like as your majestie rather by your great judgement, and gracious interpretation of my discourses, then by my simple writtings may gather. Anone cummeth monsieur admirall, accompaigned with monsieur Longeville, governour to the duke of Orleans, and with more solemnitie than was wont to be, took me with them to the church, to passe the tyme (they said) untill the king wer up. Monsieur Longevile left the admirall and me walking, and entring communication after this sorte. Monsieur le ambassadeur, I have been bold to put you to this great payne this morning; but this matier troubleth me so sore, that I am at my wittes ende: by ——— I could not sleep for it all this night. An oath. We have received letters from our ambassadeur in England, conteyning the same discourses that you have declared, which my master is sorye to heare; mervailing that the king, his good brother, would offer that summe to his sonne with his daughter, that some of his gentlemen would not accept. The pope offred to monsieur de Guyses sonne, with his nepce, two hundred thousand crownes, and he refused it. To see us so farre asunder, after so long a traitye, by ——— it greveth me. An oath. For you must understand, that all which be of counsaile about my master, be not of one opinion. And upon the receipte of our last lettres, it was said to me, We told you wherto the enterprise of this matier would cum at length:

RT I. but surely I have never repented me, nor myn affection can never diminishe, for the friendship that hath been showed on your parte, aswell in commyn, as to my particuler. And as for the pope's and the emperor's lyes and falsetes, we know well ynough. Wherfore, for the love of God, let us growe to some friendly point. After I had declared unto him for some recompence of his affection, what good affection I beare to France; I said unto him, monsieur l'admirall, you knowe, we commun now privately, and therefore you shall hear my private opinion. Seing that you knowe other men's proceedings with you to have been so indirect as you speake of, and (as your self hath confessed unto me oftentymes) that the king's majestie, my master, hath been so perfaict and sincere a friende unto you at all tymes; embrace this friendship; consyder this friend; and think that he is to be desyred rather with one hundred, than any other with tenne hundred. You said, your master will not live alone. Ywys, my master may have company enough, if he would slippe out of the couple from you. Yea, quoth he, I know; but so will not every man of this counsaile knowe, their faulseties. True it is, quoth he, your friendship hath been much, and we do recognise it, and think our selfs in obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a point; the matier consisteth in these termes. Within these two yeres, we shall owe you a million; after the which tyme, we must pay you during the king your master's life (God grant it to be long) a hundred thousand crownes yearly, and afterward fyfty thousande perpetually, you saye. As for the pencions, quoth he, there may be sumwhat sayde for things that shuld be done by treaties: for our defence, things shuld have been done; shipps and men, and I wot not what. And here he began to hack and to hume. Monsieur le admirall, quoth I, speke out plainly: for if you have any thing to say in that parte, I can answer. Well, well, quoth he, let those things passe: you can clayme no pencion yet these two yeres. And herewithall the king sent for him. With whom, after masse, he went to the standing in a forest hereby; promising

me to return ymedyately after dyner, and praying me hartely to tary his return. Monsieur le admirall, quoth I, in his eare, if you talk with the king your master of this matier, deduce him to some conformitie. I speake for the affection I beare unto you: for I may say to you, there be others that woee harder thenne you, and yet hitherto we have not given like eare. But you know, a man may droppe water so long upon a stone, that it may sooke in. And herewith, monsieur Longevile tooke me at his hand by and by, and had me to monsieur D'orleans lodging, where I had an exceeding gret feast and chere. About two of the clock the admirall sent for me; and after our meting, every man avoided out of the chamber. Monsieur le ambassadeur, quoth he, let us devise some good meane, to joyne these two princes together. Then must you, quoth I, go another way to work. Devide your treatye into two partes: treate a mariage, and treate the redemption of the rest you desyre. Well, be it, quoth he: but I understand not yet very well your reciproque; (and here he began to be plaisant in his countenance, and to set his wordes merily:) and yet, quoth he, our ambassador writteth of the same terme, but I wot not what. You will not, quoth I, understande it: but you must learne it; for els I feare (wherof I would be wondrous sorye) that this matier will not go forwarde. Let me hear again, quoth he. I told him even the same lesson, that is declared in the former parte of this letter. It is not, quoth he, a hundred thousand crownes, or two hundred thousand, that can enriche my master, or impoverishe yours: and therfore, for the love of God, quoth he, let us go roundly together. We aske your daughter, quoth he: for her, you shall have our sonne, a gentye prince, quoth he, and set him out to sale. We aske you a dote with her; and for that after the som you will give, she shall have an assignment after the custome of the country here. And as for the rest, quoth he, what reciproque demande you? What will you, that we do for you? As for the rest of the money, quoth I, take order for the payment of it; and for the pencions, devise

PART III.

a reciproque. Devise you, quoth he, what you will have us to do for it. Nay, quoth I, offer you furst, for it passeth my capacitye: and reason is so; for the first commodity shall be yours. It is no mattier, quoth he; we will offer furst, and you shall aske next; or you shall offer furst, and we shall aske nexte: all is one. But I will now, as I did laste daye, speke unto you after myn own passion, after myn own affection; for I would all the world knew I am not imperial. And here, with many qualifications and termes, he set forth his passion and affections. You will give us your daughter, and a summe with her, (it maketh no matier what;) howbeit, I trust, your gentle prince will aske no money of us: and as for the reciproque of the rest, and therewith stayed. Well, quoth he, to speake frankly to you myn affection; will you enter the warre with us against the emperor? and be enemye to enemye, for the defence of all such states as we have at this present, and of such as we shall conquere together; or of such as shall be comprised in treaty; the king your master to sett upon land in Flanders tenne thousand Englishmen, and we tenne thousand Frenchmen; pay the wages of five thousand Almayns, and we of asmany; finde two thousand horsemen, and we three thousand; finde a certain number of shipps, and we as many. And yett shall the king my master chaffe the emperor in other places, he was never so chaffed: and spende a hundred, yea two hundred thousand crowns a month other wayes. And of such lands as shall be conquered, the pencion furst to be redoubled, and the rest to be devided equally. What a thing will it be to your master, to have Graveling, Dunkirk, Burburg, and all those quarters joining to his Calais? Mary, quoth I, all the craft is in the catching. And here I put him a foolish question; What if you spent your money, and conquered nothing? Mary, quoth he, then should the pencion stand still as it standeth. Monsieur le admirall, quoth I, these matiers you talk of be of too great importance for my witt; and I have also no commission to medle in them. But to saye my fantasye, I knowe of no quarrel that my master hath against the emperor. ——

n oath.

quoth he, why say you so? Doth he not owe your master BOOK
noney? Hath he not broken his leages with him in 600 III.
oints? Did he not provoke us, and the pope also, to joine
or the taking of your realme from you, in preye for diso-
edience? And hath he not caused even now the pope,
o offer a council at Mantua, Verona, Cambray or Metz;
(which place he added now last) the chief cause wherof is to
ick you? A pestilence take him, fause dissembler, quoth
e: saving my dutie to the majestie of a king. If he had
you at such an advantage, as you maye now have him, you
hould well knowe it at his hande. And here he went furth
t large against the bishop of Rome and the emperor; dis-
oursing what commoditie shuld ensue of this warre; and
hat he would have it in any wise beginne this yere, now
hat the emperor wer so lowe; and had, as he saithe, for all
is millions, never a sols. And that he would the matier
hould take effect shortely; for the yere goith awaye: reck-
ning how many moneths were now lost mete for the
warre: and how the conquests should be fortified in the win-
ter; and the warre recommenced in the sommer. And that
their chiefe points resolved, his master shuld (if your ma-
jestie would) turne into Picardy, to entervieu. And a great
discourse, sir, passing min experience, shewing themselfs by
his wordes and countenance wonderfully gredy of presant
warre: which when he had ended; what say you, monsieur
le ambassadeur? quoth he. Will you saye nothing to me
in this matier? Sir, quoth I, and told him trueth, I wote
not what to saye. Why do you not? quoth he. Open the
bottom of your stomack to the king my master, quoth I,
by your ambassadour there, by whom you have begun and
treated this matier. And also I noted in our other confe-
rence, that you would not have these discourses reaported
again of your mouth. Monsieur, quoth he, this is indeed
but my devise. Howbeit, to speake frankly to youe, I have
spoken nothing therin, but I think to perswade my mas-
ter to it: and write so to the king your master, quoth he,
and also the hole devise. That shall be as you will, quoth
I. Nay, quoth he, I pray you to write, so as you write as

ART III. devised of me; and repeted the overture hole together, as is before expressed. Sir, quoth I, seing you require me, I will write it, so that you will promise me to confirme my tale by your ambassador there. Yes, quoth he; and clapt his hande in mine. But I pray you, quoth he, send one in diligence, that no tyme be lost. Will you not write? quoth I. Yes, quoth he: but your post will be there before ours. And so deperted.

Sir, I beseeche your majestie most humblie on my knees, graciously to accept my good will, albeit my witt be not able to serve you in so great an affaire; and to pardon me, of your most gracious goodnes, if any thing have been said, more or less thenne was meet to have been spoken for the advancement of your purposes: of my faulte wherin, if it should please your majestie to advise me of, I should have the more witt another time, and take the better hede in a semblable case: for surely, sir, I have an exceeding good will to serve you; and if my witt wer as good, I am assured I should serve well, and that knoweth God: to whom I pray daily for your prosperous and long continuance. From Chabliz, the 22d of April.

Your majesties
most humble, faithful, and
obedient subject, servant,
and daily oratour,
William Pagett.

To the king's most excellent majestie.

1542.

Number 74.

Bishop Thirleby's letter concerning the duke of Norfolk and his son. An original.

ver- ice. I WOULD write unto you my harte (if I coulde) against those two ungracious, ingrate, and inhumane *non homines*, the duke of Norfolk and his sonne. The elder of whom, I confess that I did love, for that I ever supposed hym a true servant to his master; like as both his allegiance and the

manifold benefits of the king's majestie bounde him to have been; but nowe when I sholde begyn to wright to you herin, before God I am so amased at the matter, that I know not what to say; therefore I shall leave them to receyve for their deads, as they have worthily deservyd; and thank God of his grace that hath openyd this in tyme, so that the king's majestie may see that reformed: and in this point, wher Almighty God hath not nowe alone, but often and sondry tymes hertofore, not only letted the malice of such as hathe imagenyd any treason against the king's majestie, the chiefe comforte, wealth, and prosperite of all good Englishmen next unto God; but hath so wonderfully manifest, that in suche tyme that his majesties high wisdom myght let that malice to take his effecte, all good Englishe cannot therfore thanke God enough. And for our parts, I pray God, that we may thorough his grace, so contynue his servants, that herafter we be not founde unworthy to receyve suche a benefyte at his hands. On Christmas even, about 10 of the clocke after noon here aryved Somerset with the letters of the king's majesties most honourable counsell, dated the 15th of December at Westminster, wherby I perceyved the malicious purpose of the said two ungracious men: and for the execution of the king's majesties commandment declared in the same letters, I suyd immediately for audience to the emperor, who entred this town within halfe an houer after Somerset was come. The emperor praied me of pacience, and to declare to the secretarie Joyse, that I wolde saie to him. For he said he had determyned to repose him selfe for 3 or 4 days; and had therfore for that tyme refused audience to the nuntio, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice, which had sued for audience. On Christmas-day on the morning, at nine of the clocke, Joyse came to my lodginge, to whom I declared as well as I coulde the great benefits theis ungracious men had receyved at the king's majesties hands, and how unkindly and traytorously they went abought to searve him, with the rest as myn instruc-

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tions led me. The king's majestie, my master (taking the same affection to be in the emperor, his good brother, towards him, that his highnes hathe to the emperor, (*ut amicorum omnia sint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus,*) hath commanded me to open this matter to the emperor: that as naturally all men, and much more princes, ought to abhore traytors, and specially suche as had receyved so great benyfites as theis men had: so his majestie might rejoyse that the king's highnes his good brother had founde forthe this matter, or the malice coulde be brought to execution. Secretary Joyse said that he would advertise the emperor herof accordingly, and after a little talke of the haughtiness of the earle of Surrey, and a few salutations, he bad me fare well. When I asked him for monsieur de Grandevela, to whom I said that I wolde tell this tale, for that I doubted not but that he and all honest men wolde abhorre such traytors: he said that he was not yet come, but he wolde this day advertise him herof by his letters; for I wright (quoth he) daily to him. Albeit that this be the hole, and the effecte of that I have done in the execution of the king's majesties commandment, declared in my said lord's letters, yet I will as my dutie is, answer a-part their said letters to the king's majestie: herin I dare not wright. For, to enter the matter, and not to detest that as the cause requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the other side, to renew the memorie of these mens ingratitude, (wher with all noble and princely harts above all others be sore wounded) I thinke it not wisdome. Therefore I beseeche you hartely, amongst other my good lords, there to make my most humble excuse to his majestie for the same. This ungracious matter that hath happened otherwise then ever I could have thought, hath caused you to have a longer letter then ever I have bene accustomed to wright. Ye shall herwith receyve a scedule of courte newis, whiche havyng lernyd while I wrote this; secretary Joyse hathe prayed me to sende the letter herwith enclosed to the emperor's ambassador in England, which I pray you to

to be delivered, and hartely fare you well. From ɔourne the Christmas-day at night, 1546.

Your assured loving friend,

Tho. Westm'.

ɯith ye shall allso receyve
copie of my letters of the
h of this mongth, sent by
pperus, &c.

Number 75.

ɛr of the duke of Norfolk's, after he had been examined in the Tower.

Titus, B. 1. P. 94.

ɾ very good lords, whereas at the being here with me ɾ lord great chamberlayne, and Mr. Secretary, they ɣnd me of divers thyngs, which as near as I can call ɣ remembrance were the effects as here after doth

st, whether ther was any cipher betwene me and any man: for answer wherunto, this is the truth, there ever cipher between me and any man, save only such ıave had for the king's majestie, when I was in his e. And as God be my judge, I do not remember ɛver I wrote in cipher, but at such time as I was in ɛe. My lord great master that now is and my lord ɔchford being in commission with me, and whether I any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remem- but and I wrote any thing, I am sure both their were at it: and the master of the horse privy to the I do remember that after the death of the bishop of ord, Fox, it was shew'd me that the said bishop had letter, which I had sent him, amongst his writings, being found by a servant of his, that is now with r Deny, who shewd the same to the bishop of Dur- hat now is, he caused him to throw the same in fier; o remember, it was my said lord bishop of Dureham ıdvised him to burn it: and as I also do remember, ıatter that was conteyned therin concerned lewde

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speaking of the northern men after the time of the comotion against the said Cromwell: if there had been any thyng concerning the king's majestys affairs, neyther the bishope, nor he, were he now alyve, would not have concealed the same; and whether any part of that was in cypher, or not, as I shall answer to God, I do not remember.

Theffect of another question there asked me, was, as near as I can call to my remembrance, Whether anie man had talked with me, that and ther were a good peace made betwene the king's majestie, the emperor and the French king, the bishope of Rome would brek the same againe by his dispensation? and whether I enclined that waies, or not, to that purpose? As God help me now, at my most nede, I cannot call to my remembrance, that ever I heard any man living speak like words. And as for mine inclinations, that the bishope of Rome should ever have aucthority to do such thing; if I had twentie lives, I would rather have spent them all against him, then ever he should have any power in this realme: for no man knoweth that better then I, by reding of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time as the king's majestie hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his harte and with his tounge, in this realme, in France, and also to many Scotish jantlemen, spoken more sore against his said usurped powre, then I have done, as I can prove by good witnes.

Also my said lord and Mr. Secretary asked me, whether I was ever made privy to a letter, sent from my lord of Wynchester and sir Henry Knevet, of any overture made by Grandville to them, for a way to be taken between his majestie and the bishope of Rome; and that the said letters should have come to his majestie to Dover, I being there with him. Wherunto this is my true answer: I was never at Dover with his highnes since my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttyngborne: and as God be my helpe, I never heard of no such overture, save that I do well remember, at such time as sir

Francis Biryan was sore sike, and like to have died, it was spoken in the councill, that my lord of Winchester should have said, he cou'd devise a way, how the king's majestie might have all things upright with the said bishope of Rome, and his highnes honour saved. Suche were the words, or much like. Wherupon, as I had often said in the councill, one was sent to the said sir Francis, to know, if ever he heard the said bishope speake like words; which he denied: and as I do remember, it was sir Rauf Sadeler, that was sent to the said sir Francis. And to say that ever I heard of any such overture made by Grandville, or that ever I commoned with any man conserning any such mater, other then this of the bishope of Winchester, as God be my help, I never dyd; nor unto more thenne this, I was never prevye.

Now, my good lords, having made answer according to the truth of such questions as hath been asked me, most humblie I beseeche you all to be mediators for me to his most excellent majestie, to cause such as have accused me (if it might be with his high pleasure) to come before his majestie, to lay to my charge afore me, face to face, what they can say against me: and I am in no dout, so to declare my selfe, that it shall appere I am falsly accused. And if his pleasure shall not be, to take the paine in his royall person, then to give you commandment to do the same. My lords, I trust ye think Cromwell's service and mine hath not be like; and yet my desire is, to have no more favour shew'de to me, than was shew'de to him, I being present. He was a fals man; and sewerly I am a trewe poore jantleman.

My lords, I think surelie there is some fals man, that have laid some great cause to my charge, er else I had not be sent hither. And therefore, eftsonyts most humblie I beseeche to finde the names, if they and I may not be brought face to face, yet let me be made privy what the causes are; and if I do not answer truely to every point, let me not live one howre after: for sewerlie I would hide nothing of any questions that I shall know, that doth concern my self, nor any other creature.

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My lords, there was never gold tried better by fier and watter than I have been, nor hath had greater enemys about my soveraign lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my trouth hath ever tried me, as I dout not it shall do in theis causes. Suerly, if I knew any thought I had offended his majestie in, I would suerly have declared it to his person.

Upon the Tuysdaye in Whitsonweek last past, I broke unto his majestie, moste humbley beseeching him to helpe, that a mariage might be had between my daughter and sir Thomas Semour: and wheras my son of Surey hath a son and divers daughters; that, with his favour, a crosse mariage might have been made between my lord great chamberline and them. And also wher my son Thomas hath a son, that shall (be his mother) spend a thousand marks a yere, that he might be in like wise maried to one of my said lord's daughters. I report me to your lordships, whether myn intent was honest in this motion, or not. And whereas I have written, that my truth hath been severely tried, and that I have had great enemies. First, the cardinall did confes to me at Asser, that he had gone about fourteen years to have destroyed me; saying, he did the same by the setting upon of my lord of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and my lord Sands; who said often to him, that if he found not the means to put me out of the way, at length I should seuerly undo him.

Cromwell, at such tyme as the marquis of Exeter suffred, examined his wife more streitly of me, then of all other men in the realme, as she sent me word by her brother, the lord Montjoy. He hath said to me himself many times, My lord, ye are an happy man, that your wife knoweth no hurt by you; for if she did, she would undo you.

The duke of Buckingham confessed openly at the bar, (my father sitting as his judge) that of all men living he hated me most, thinking I was the man that had hurt him most to the king's majestie: which now, quoth he, I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had maried my sister, confessed, that (of all

men living) he hated me most; and wished many times, how he might find the meanes to thrust his dagger in me. BOOK III.

What malice both my neecys, that it pleased the king's highnes to maarie, did bere unto me, is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in this sute; as my lady Herberd, my lady Tirwit, my lady Kynston, and others, which heard what they said of me. Who tried out the falshod of the lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, Aske, and many others, for which they suffer'd for? But only I. Who shewed his majestie of the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision? But only I. In all times past unto this time, I have shewed my self a most trewe man to my soveraign lord. And since these things done in tymes past, I have received more proffight of his highnes, than ever I did afore. Alas! who can think, that I, having been so long a trew man, should now be false to his majestie? I have received more proffight then I have deserved: and a poore man; as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. For whose sake should I be an untrewe man to them? Alas, alas, my lords, that ever it should be thought any ontruthe to be in me.

Fynally my good lords eftsonys most humble I beseech you to shew this scrible letter to his majestie, and all joyntle to beseech his highnes to grante me the peticions that are conteyned in the same, and most especyall to remyt out of his most noble gentle hart such displeasure as he hath conceyved against me: and I shall dewryng my lyff pray for the continuence of his most royall estate long to endure,

By his highnes poor prisoner,
T. Norfolk.

PART III.

Collection of Records belonging to Book IV, V, and VI.

Number 1.

Instructions given by Luther to Melanchthon 1534; *of which, one article was erroneously published by me in my IId vol. and that being complained of, the whole is now published.*

Cogitationes meæ sunt: (*viz. Lutheri.*)

Primo ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint. Nam isto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri, cum nec ipsi credamus utrumque verum hoc esse, et alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, et ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus, cum sit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Forsan novum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos corpus Christi asseruerimus, plane contrarii in sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut mediam et novam sententiam statuamus: qua et illi concedant corpus Christi adesse verè, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Ut enim conscientiam taceam, considerandum est certe; quantam hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi: et orientur hic fontes quæstionum et opinionum: ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo: cum nec ipsi suam nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam: sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis quæstionibus ad epicurismum profuturis.

Tertio, Cum stent hic pro nostra sententia, primum textus ipse apertissimus evangelii, qui non sine causa movet omnes homines, non solum pios: secundo, patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facilè possunt solvi; nec, tuta conscientia, aliter quam sonant, intelligi, cum bona grammatica

fortiter consentiat. Tertio, quia periculosum est sta- ecclesiam tot annis per totum orbem caruisse vero sacramenti; cum nos fateamur omnes, mansisse sa- ıta et verbum, etsi obruta multis abominationibus.

rto, Dicta Sancti Augustini de signo, quæ contraria sententiæ videntur, non sunt firma satis contra ista ia dicta. Maximè, cum ex Augustini scriptis clarè ostendi, et convinci, eum loqui de signo præsentis is, ut illud, contra *Adamantum*, non dubitavit Do- appellare corpus suum, cum daret signum corporis el de signo corporis mystici, in quo valdè multus est, tim in Joanne: ubi copiosè docet, manducare carnem , esse in corpore mystico; seu, ut ipse dicit, in soci- ınitate, charitate ecclesiæ: istis enim verbis utitur.

nto, Omnium est fortissimus Augustinus, quod dicit, ıoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, &c. Et conscientia memor apertorum verborum Christi, (Hoc rpus meum) hoc dictum S. Augustini facilè sic ex- quod de visibili corpore loquatur Augustinus, sicut verba (quod videtis) ita nihil pugnat Augustinus :laris verbis Christi: et Augustinus infirmior est, ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo satis consono, nos t in contrarium sensum.

to, Ego S. Augustinum non intelligo aliter (sic et ipse ante se forte intellexit) quam quod contra Judæos et s docendum fuit, apud Christianos non comedi corpus i visibiliter, et more corporali. Hac ratione fidem sa- ıti defenderunt. Rursus contra hypocritas Christiano- ocendum fuit, quod sacramentum non esset salutare :ntibus, nisi spiritualiter manducarent, id est, ecclesiæ uniti et incorporati. Et hac ratione charitatem in ıento exegerunt. Ut ex Augustino clare accipi potest; ɔsque dubio, ex prioribus patribus, et sui sèculi usu, cepit.

timo, Istis salvis, nihil est quod à me peti possit. Nam hoc dissidium vellem (testis est mihi Christus meus) ptum non uno corpore et sanguine meo: sed quid ı? Ipsi forte conscientia bona capti sunt in alteram

PART III.

sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si sinceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bona certè conscientia (nisi ipse mihi sim ignotus) in meam sententiam. Ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

Si verò illi sententiam suam, scilicet de præsentia corporis Christi cum pane, tenere velint, et petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari; ego planè libenter tolerabo, in spe futuræ communionis. Nam interim communicare illis in fide et sensu non possum.

Deinde, Si politica concordia quæritur, ea non impeditur diversitate religionis: sicut novimus posse conjugia, commercia, aliaque politica constare, inter diversæ religionis homines: primo Corinth. 7. Christus faciat, ut perfectè conteratur Satan sub nostris pedibus. Amen.

Nostra autem sententia est, corpus ita cum pane, seu in pane esse, ut reverà cum pane manducetur: et quæcunque motum vel actionem panis habet, eandem et corpus Christi. Ut corpus Christi verè dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id est, Hoc est corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Christi,
Febr. 4. 95-6.

We have collated this with the original paper of Luther, and find it to agree exactly. Witness our hands,

John Jaggard.
Rob. Moss.
Will. Lunn.

Number 2.

The lady Mary's letter to the lord protector, and to the rest of the king's majesty's council, upon their suspecting some of her houshold had encouraged the Devonshire rebellion.

My Lord,

Ex MS. D. G. Cooke.

I HAVE received letters from you, and others of the king's majesty's council, dated the 17th of this present, and delivered unto me the 20th of the same, whereby I perceive ye

ye informed, that certayn of my servants should be the chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in these commotions; which commotions (I assure you) no less offend me, than they do you and the rest of the council. And you write also, that a priest and chapleyn of mine, at Sampford Courtney in Devonshire, should be a doer there. Of which report I do not a little marvel; for, to my knowledge, I have not one chaplayn in those parts. And concerning Pooly, my servant, which was sometime a receiver, I am able to answer, that he remayneth continually in my house, and was never doer amongst the commons, nor came in their company. It is true, that I have another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and whether the commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he resorteth seldom to my house. But by report, they have taken by force many gentlemen in these quarters, and used them very cruelly. And as touching Lionell my servant, I cannot but marvell of that bruit, specially because he dwelleth within two miles of London, and is not acquainted within the shire of Suffolk, or Norfolk; nor at any time cometh into these parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my house, and is now at London about my businesse, being no man apt or meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within my house.

My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports of any of mine, and specially where no cause is given, trusting that my houshold shall try themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest quiet persons; or else I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of those men to require and do as they do: that thing appeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about these parts is touching no point of religion; but even as ye ungently, and without desert charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it, as the case doth require, do and will pray God, that your new alterations, and unlawful liberties, be not rather the occasion of these assemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witnesse) inquieted therewith. And as for Devonshire, no indifferent

PART III. person can lay their doings to my charge; for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace, as I would wish to my self. So with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewel. From my house at Kennynghall the xxth of July.

Your friend to my power,
MARY.

Number 3.

A letter of Christopher Mont concerning the Interim.

Christophorus Montius S. D.
Wolph. Musculo.

MS. gur. Cum harum lator mihi indicasset se dominum nosse, nolui eum sine meis ad te reverti literis. Cùm ego Augustâ discederem: discessi autem, hujus nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per ecclesias, sed optimi quique vehementer verebantur superstitiones inducendas propediem concionator ad S. Georgium mihi significavit, senatum à concionatoribus efflagitare, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non desererent, sed porro in ea permanerent, se eos maturè et in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint superstitionem imminere, quasi modo non in media urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque senatus, ut concionatores populo Interim quam compositissimis et coloratissimis verbis possent, proponerent, quod major pars recusârunt, dicentes se hoc scriptum laudare nulla ratione neque constantia posse, quod communi suffragiò damnassent, duo tamen se id facturos receperunt, quod et factum audivi ad S. Crucem et Mauricium. Non dubito te audiisse, de eo scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxonia. Utinam Germana virtus et constantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut si non fortiter agendo, saltem fortiter adversa propter Domini gloriam ferendo, professionem et officium nostrum testentur. Dux Gemini pontis Augustâ discessisse dicitur, ut qui *Interim* indictionem et promulgationem diocesano præstandam et committendam dixerit, neque se neque suos huic executioni

idoneos ministros esse. Tamen qua conditione dimissus sit, certo nondum didici. Bremenses discessisse audio nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præscribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam si eas acceperint, præstare non possint. Multi putant consultò tam gravia præscribi, ut sub specie contumaciæ et obstinationis, obsidione pressi et expugnati Frisiæ jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptissima est, ut quæ supra Visurgim et Albim posita accessum aperiat ad Chersonesum totam occupandum. Qua lege Constantienses redierint domum ex domino nosse cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi significare velis quæ concordiæ et communicationis spes ipsis inter se Helvetis sit. Literas quas ad me perlatas voles, cura ad D. Bucerum adferri. Bene vale. Argentinæ 18. Jul. 1548. Literas tectas exuras.

Number 4.

A part of a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, giving an account of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

Nos 14. Aprilis relicta Colonia, iter versus Antwerpiam, per Campiniam Brabantinam, sterilem ac arenosam, instituimus. 18. ejusdem, venimus omnes, Dei gratia, salvi et incolumes Antwerpiam. 20. die, precibus oratoris regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus, Bruxellam me contuli, unà cum Joh. Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem ac miserias aulæ, præterea servitutem civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem filiarum, uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditissimæ gentis ferre coguntur; ut statum ac conditionem suæ patriæ altius consideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, ac diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiores redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, quod raro cubiculum suum egreditur, nec filium, qui pascha suum egit extra civitatem, in monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxoniæ Jo. Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis fui in ædibus illius valdè humaniter acceptus à suis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit

Ex MS. Tigur.

ART III. dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad colloquium; sed impedivit semper primi capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in sua fide. Non valet, quantum ad valetudinem corporis spectat, de liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget spes, nisi quod absit, religionem suam mutet: non malè sperat de verbo Dei. Catus landgravius captivus detinetur Auldenardi, septem milliaribus à Gandavo: homo omnibus numeris miser et inconstans: nunc omnem obedientiam Cæsari, ac fidem pollicetur; missam, ac cætera impia sacra, obviis ulnis amplectitur, nunc Cæsarem, cum suo interdicto, execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius; miserè affligitur, ac meritas pœnas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Et vidimus, præterea Lazarum Scuendi proditorem illum, quem nostis. De Brandeburgensi, ac aliis Germanis, Hispanorum mancipiis, nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus papæ, per totam Quadragesimam, in sua aula est concionatus, quàm impiè non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter papam et Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum ac Cæsarem. Uterque valdè sibi timet à Cæsare: Cæsar vicissim à fulmine papæ maximè timet. Jam agitur seriò inter illos, an concilium generale Tridenti, an Bologniæ sit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæsar consentiat de Bolognia: is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: et potius dicit se omnes amicitias cum papa desinere, quam illum locum, Bologniam scil. admittere: quid monstri in hoc, ex parte papæ, lateat, facilè divinare licet. Diffidit regno suo valde; nam hoc didici ab oratore nostro, quòd si Cæsaris confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes, quod brevi in cognitionem Christi induceretur. Nam apertè mihi retulit, et Cæsarem, et consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci ac trahi, per confessorem, qui omnia papæ suasu et consilio agit. Et facilè credo: nam ante septem menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiore Germania, fuit derelictus à suo confessore, quod crudelius voluit sævire in pios viros, et in integrum papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei episcopatum in Hispania, ad 20. millia coronatorum per annum: neglexit Cæsaris liberalitatem, et Cæsarem ipsum hisce verbis, Ecclesiæ

Christi me solum debeo, sed non tibi, non dono tuo, nisi ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire. Jam de Cæsaris animo ergo Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: si hac via res non succedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lactet vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuò vos diligatis, Deum timete, sanctè vivite, strenuè pugnate, ac expectate victoriam à Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putem vobis non imminere periculum, sed sitis semper parati: et absit procul omnis securitas, ne obruat inopinantes. Adhuc Cæsar bene scit, se non posse pro voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius, (ut accepi à viris fide dignis) aliquid tentâsse in religione: quidem si Germanis permisisset liberam maximè fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum, Gandavum et à Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel ascensurum versus Spiram. Copias militum habet prope Bremam ac civitates maritimas, sed otiosas: nihil proficiunt res, à civibus multum timetur, indies magis ac magis civitates suas muniunt et comeatum habent ad quinque annos, non multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones à suis Cæsar jam exigit credo se non ignorare. Dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hospita nostra in Campinia: Si inquit ferre potuerim in sinu meo magnam ac jam nunc molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem ac per stipem victum quærerem, nam Cæsare ac reginæ exactores labores sudores nostri exantlant. Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant, concessa est regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25. Aprilis invitatus ad prandium à quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optimè novit Helvetiam, ac sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit, se frequenter vidisse in aula Cæsaris ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, pub-

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The rest of the letter relates to private concerns.

Number 5.

The oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in king Henry the VIIIth's time. The last words were struck out by king Edward the VIth.

MSS. ner. YE shall say and swere as foloweth, I shall be faithful and true, and faith and trowth I shall bere unto your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme; and with liff and lymme, and erththelie honour for to live and dye as your faithful subject, agayne all persons of what degre, state, or condition soever they bee: and I shall preferr, sustayne, and mayntayne the honour, surtie, right, preheminence, and prerogatif of your majestie, and your heires kings of this realm, and jurisdiction of your imperiall crowne of the same, afore and agaynst all maner of persones, powers, and auctorities whatsoever they bee: and I shall not witlynglie do, or attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done or attempted any thing, or things, prively, or apartly, that may be to the dymunytion or derogation of your crowne of this realme; or of the lawes, liberties, rights, and prerogatiffes belonging to the same, but put myne effectual endevour from tyme to tyme, as the case shall requier to advance and increas the same to my wit and uttermost of my power: and in nowise herafter I shall accept any othe, or make any promise, pact, or covenant, secretly or apertlye by any maner of means, or by any colour of pretence to the contrary of this my othe, or any part therof. And I shall be diligentlye attendant uppon your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme, in all your commaundements, causes, and busynesses. And also I knowledge and recognize your majestie ymmediately under Almightie God to be the chief and *supreme hede of the church* of England, and

clayme to have the *bishepriche of Chester*, holye and allonlye of your gift: and to have and to hold the proffites temporal and spiritual of the same allonlye of your majestie, and of your heires kings of this realme, and of none other: and in that sorte and none other, I shall take my restitution owt of your handes accordinglye, utterly renownsing any other suit to be had herefore to any other creature liffyng, or hereafter to be, except your heires. And I shall to my wit and uttermost of my power observe, keep, mayntayn, and defende all the statutes of this realme made agaynst the reservations and provisions of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, of any of the archiebusshopriches or busshopriches in this realme, or of other your domynions. And also I shall observe, fullfill, defende, mayntayn, and kepe to the uttermost of my power all the hole effects and content of the statute made for the surtie of your succession of your crowne of this realme, and all the causes and articles mentioned and conteagned in the saide statute: and also all other statutes made in confirmation, or for the due execution of the same. And all theis things I shall do without colour, fraude, or any other undue mean agaynst all persons, powers, and auctorities of the world, whatsoever they be. And in one wise for any maner of cause, colour, or pretence, prively or apertlye I shall move, do, or attempt; nor to any power suffer to be done or attempted any thing or things to the contrary herof, so help me God, all sayntes, and the holye evangels.

BOOK III.

Per me Roland' Co' et Lich' electum.

Number 6.

A letter of Peter Martyr's to Bullinger, of the state of the university of Oxford, in the year 1550, *June* 1.

S. D. literis tuis vir eximie mihique in Christo plurimum observande, longè antea respondisse debueram, ad quod faciendum, non solum institutum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod suavissimæ fuerunt et bene comitatæ aliis symmistarum epistolis jucundissimis: vehementer ex-

Ex MS. Tiguri.

RT II. timulabar sed quando redditæ sunt adversa valetudine nonnihil afflictabar: et statim ut convalui, ea mole negotiorum penè sum oppressus, ut quod maximè cupiebam facere non licuerit, cujusmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas interpretationes Pauli, quod totum ferme hominem sibi vendicat, si velit in eis pro dignitate versari, accessit ex legibus modò latis à regia majestate, huic academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter publicæ disputationes de rebus theologicis habeantur, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut et intersim et præsim. Deinde in hoc regio collegio ubi dego, singula quaque septimana, theologicæ disputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas aditus omnibus patet, identidem publicæ dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque cum adversariis perpetuò luctandum, et quidem pertinacissimis, quò fit, ut velim nolim facilè cogar, alias non rarò seponere literas, et vocationi cui sum obstrictus, totum tempus mihi concessum transmittere. Verum certè scio boni consules, nec in malam partem capies (quæ tua est humanitas) quod à contemptione profectum non esse animadvertes. Gaudeo quas scripseram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuisse susceptas: neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præsidium, si quid me possis cojuvare, tam promtè atque alacriter offers. Recompenset Deus istum animum, ut ego illum sincera charitate complector! Hic verò scitò negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo successu, eoque ardore quo velim, sed tamen plus quàm nostra peccata mereantur, et aliquantiò felicius, atque mihi ante quatuor menses polliceri ausus essem. Permulta certè sunt quæ nobis obstant, cumprimis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, et eorum qui profitentur evangelium crassa vitia, et quorundam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam, sed ita vellent demutari quam minimè fieri possit, quod cum animo sint et *judicio civiles*, existimant maximos motus republicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipse cernis, cùm innumeræ corruptiones, infiniti abusus, et immensæ superstitiones in ecclesia Christi passim inoleverint, fieri non posse ut justa habeatur instau-

ratio nisi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad suos genuinos ortus purissimos fontes et inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan astutè sanctos conatus aggreditur, vellet enim hoc prætextu q. numerosissimas papatus relinquere reliquias. Partim ne homines ejus facilè obliviscerentur, partim verò ut reditus ad illum facilior maneret. At vicissim inde consolationis hausimus, quod regem habemus verè sanctum, qui tanto studio pietatis flagrat, ea est, hac ætate, prædictus eruditione, eaque prudentia jam nunc et gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem stuporemque se audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandus est Deus contentissimis votis, ut eum regno et ecclesiæ multò diutissimè conservet. Sunt et complures heroes, regnique proceres, bene admodum sentientes; et aliquos episcopos habemus, non pessimos, inter quos est uti signifer Cantuariensis. Deinde in eorum album cooptatus est Hooperus, magna porrò bonorum omnium lætitia; utque audio, contigit ei populus non malus; me illum spero visurum, quando ad suum episcopatum iter faciet. Nam si Glocestriam se conferet, quæ est ejus ecclesia, per nos hac transibit. Quo autem pacto duci potuerit, ut fieret episcopus, referrem pluribus, nisi compertissimum haberem, illum ipsum (quæ est ejus in te observantia) omnia fusissimè scripturum. Est alius præterea vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui superioribus annis agebat in Germania parochum: is multum in Devonia, et prædicando, et interpretando scripturas, laborat; eum te probè nôsse arbitror, qui Excestrensis episcopus fiet. Nilque potest commodi, ut et utilius fieri ad religionis repurgationem, quam si homines hujus farinæ ad ecclesiæ administrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam se huc dominus Alasco, quum ejus Phrysia imperatorium *Interim* admisit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum ecclesiæ præerit; quod mihi vehementer placet. Degit nunc apud D. Cantuariensem. Accepisti jam quo loco nostræ res in Anglia sint, quæ adhuc nonnihil melioris spei efficit; pax ista, cum rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt papistæ celebretur concilium: verum si sapuerimus et hoc genus cogitationum, in

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Deum rejiciamus. Sermones quos edidisti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles monilares, qui ut ex mediis scripturis sanctis recitati sunt, ita et grati fuerunt; et spero, non absque fructu legentur. Johannem ab Ulmis, et Stumphium, quos mihi commendâsti, eâ quâ possum charitate complector; atque ipsi vicissim me colunt, et observant: ad me ventitant sæpius; et si quid vel scribendum, vel aliud agendum, mea causa sit, præstare non detrectant, sed lubenti volentique animo faciunt; qua de causa, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stumphium ad vos delatum esse, quod contra quàm vestris legibus liceat, nescio quod ab Anglis stipendium accipiat; id verò certò scias, falsum esse. Vixit hic aliquandiu in nostro collegio, sed sua pecunia; quod posthac non illi fraudi sit, utque ulla specie mali abstineat: hic discessit, et in oppido, apud civem bibliopolam, divertit. Modò quòd superest, tuos, tuorumque preces, quanta possum cum instantia imploro; quo progrediatur in hoc regno Domini opus, atque tandem corda patrum in filios, et corda filiorum in patres suos, nostro ministerio revocentur. Oxonii, primâ Junii 1550. Valeas in Domino; et me, ut facias, ama.

Tuus, ex animo,
Petrus Martyr.

Salutes, quæso, isthic meo nomine, omnes bonos in fratres; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, et doctorem Ghisnerum.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo, pietate et doctrina, viro,
D. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ
Tigurinæ pastori fidelissimo, domino suo ac fr. colendissimo,
Tiguri.

Number 7.

A mandate, in K. Edward's name, to the officers of the archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the articles of religion should be subscribed.

Mandatum pro publicatione nonnullorum articulorum, veram proponi fidem concernentium.

EDWARDUS Sextus, Dei gratia, Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum caput. Dilectis sibi, officiali curiæ Cantuar' et decano decanatûs de arcubus Londin' ac eorum surrogatis, deputatis, aut locum tenentibus, uni vel pluribus, salutem. Quoniam nuper, per literas nostras regias, signeto nostro obsignatas, reverendissimo in Christo patri, consiliario nostro fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, dederimus in mandatis. Quatenus ipse, ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam illustrandam, nostramque, et ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus caput supremum, post Christum, esse dignoscimur) honorem, et ad tollendam opinionis dissensionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, nonnullos articulos, et alia rectam Christi fidem spirantia, clero et populo nostris, ubi libet infra suam jurisdictionem degentibus, pro parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret et significaret; prout in literis nostris (quarum tenores, pro hic insertis habere volumus) latius continetur, et describitur. Vobis igitur, et eorum cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districtè præcipiendo nostra sublimi regia auctoritate, mandamus; quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptorie, omnes et singulos rectores, vicarios, presbyteros, stipendiarios, curatos, plebanos, ministros, ludimagistros cujuslibet scholæ grammatices, aut aliter vel alias grammaticam, apertè vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, verbi Dei prædicatores, vel prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios, quamcunque aliam functionem ecclesiasticam, (quocunque nomine, aut appellatione, censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes et habentes. Oeconimos quoque cujuslibet parochiæ, infra decanatum de arcubus prædictum, existentes aut degentes,

Reg. Cranmer, f. 65.

PART III.

quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareat, et compareat personaliter, coram dicto reverendissimo patre Cantuar' archiepiscopo, in aula ædium suarum apud Lambehithe, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis mensis Junii, inter horas septimam et nonam, ante meridiem ejusdem diei. Hisque tunc iis ex parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturos, facturosque ulterius et recepturos, quod consonans fuerit rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis die, loco et horis, eundem reverendissimum, de executione hujus regii nostri mandati, unà cum nominibus et cognominibus, omnium et singulorum, per vos monitorum, ritè, rectè, et auctenticè reddatis, certiorem, unà cum præsentibus uti decet. Teste Thomâ Cant' archiepiscopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo.

Certificatorium factum super executione mandati prædicti.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino Thomæ, permissione divina, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano; auctoritate illustrissimi in Christo principis, et domini nostri domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ, supremi capitis; sufficienti auctoritate fulcito Johannes Gibbon civilium legum professor, vestræ celcitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus decanatus vestr' beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de archibus London, commissarius omnem que decet reverentiam, et obedientiam, tanto reverendissimo patri debitam cum honore. Mandatum illustrissimi et potentissimi domini nostri regis, presentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos rectores, presbiteros, &c. Dat. vicessimo secundo die mensis Junii, anno Domini millessimo quingentessimo quinquagessimo tertio.

Number 8.

By the king.

The king's mandate to the bishop of Norwich, sent with the articles to be subscribed by the clergy.

RIGHT reverende father in God, right trustie and well-beloved, we grete you well: and bicause it hath pleased Almightie God in this latter time of the world, after long darkenes of knowleadge to reveale to this his churche of Englande; whereof we have under Christ the chief charge in earth; a sincere knowlege of the gospell, to the inestimable benefit of us and our people, redeemed by our Saviour Christ. We have thought it mete, and our dutie for the pure conservacion of the same gospell in our church, with one uniforme profession, doctryne, and preachinge, and for the avoyding of many perilous and vain opinions, and errors, to sende unto you certayne articles, devised and gathered with great study, and by council, and good advice of the greatest learned parte of our byshoppes of this realm, and sundry others of our clergie; which articles we wyll and exhort your self to subscribe, and in your preachings, redings, and teachings, to observe and cause to be subscribed and observed, of all other which do, or hereafter shall preache, or reade, within your dioces. And if any person or persons, having benefice within your dioces, shall from henceforth, not only refuse wylfully to set their hands to these articles, but also obstinatly exhort their parrochians to withstande the same, and teache the people in a contrary way; our pleasure is, that beinge duly proved, ye shall advertise us, or our cownsaile of the hoole mattier, fully to thintent suche furter ordre may by direction from us, or our said cownsail, to be taken as the case shall require, and shall stande with justice, and th'ordre of our lawes. And further, that when and as often as ye shall have any manner of person presented unto you to be admitted by yowe as the ordinary to any ecclesiastical ordre, ministry, office, or cure, within your dioces, that ye shall before you admit him conferre with him in every theis articles. And finding

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him therto consentinge, to cawse him subscribe the same in one legier book to be fourmed for that purpose, which maye remayne as a registre for a concorde, and to let him have a copye of the same articles. And if any men in that case shall refuse to consent to any of the said articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your procurement in any wise shall admitt him, or allowe him as sufficient and mete to take any ordre, ministery, or ecclesiastical cure. For whiche yower so doinge we shall discharge yowe from all maner of penalties, or daungers of actions, suits, or plees of premonirees, *quare impedit*, or such lyke. And yet our meaning is, that if any partie refuse to subscribe any of these articles for lack of learning and knowledge of the trewth, ye shall in that case by teachinge, conference, and prouf of the same by the scriptures, reasonably and discretely move and perswade him therto before yow shall peremptorilye judge him as unhable and a recusant. And for the tryall of his conformitie, ye shall according to your discrecion prefix a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent, so that be betwixt three weks and six weks from the time of the first accesse unto yowe. And if after six weks he wyll not consent and agree wyllinglie to subscribe, then ye may lawfullye, and shall in any wyse refuse to admytt or enhable him. And where there is of late sett fourthe by our authoritie a Cathechisme for the instruction of younge scolers in the feare of God, and the trewe knowleage of his holy religion, with expresse commaundyment from us to all schole maisters to teache and instruct their scholars the saide Cathechisme, making it the beginning and first foundacion of ther teaching in their scholes: our pleasure is, that for the better exequution of our said commaundyment, ye shall yearely, at the least once visit, or cause to be visited, every schole within your saide dioces, in which visitacion yt shall be enquired both howgh the scole maister of every such schole hath used himself in the teaching of the said Cathecisme; and also howgh the scholars do receyve and followe the same, making playne and full certificate of

the offendors, contrary to this our ordre, and of their severall offences, to the archbishop of that province, within the monethes from tyme to tyme after every such offence. Yeoven undre our signet at the manor of Grenewich the IXth daye of June, the VIIth yeare of our reign.

This is faithfully transcribed from the beginning of a folio MS. book in the principal registry of the lord bishop of Norwich——After which immediately follow

Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, anno Domini 1552. *ad tollendam dissensionem et consensu veræ religionis, firmandum inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros, convenerat regiâ authoritate in lucem editi.*

42 Articles as in the Appendix of 2d volume of the History of the Reformation, N. 55. subscribed by about 50 original hands, thus:

Per me Milonem Spenser.
Per me Johannem Barrett.
Per me Petrum Watts, &c.

Feb. 12, 1713.
Examined by
Thom. Tanner.

Number 9.

Ornatiss. viris dominis Sands, ac regentibus et non-regentibus academiæ Cantabr.

ÆQUUM est, ut qui se literarum studiis dediderunt, et in veri inquisitione versantur, illius disciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum est utilissima, et ad judicandum cum verbo Dei convenientissima. Cùm autem in redintigranda religione, multum diuque regiæ majestatis authoritate, et bonorum atque eruditorum virorum judiciis sit elaboratum, et de articulis quibusdam in synodo Londinensi anno Domini 1552. ad tollendam opinionum dispentionem, conclusum: æquissimum judicavimus, eosdem regiâ authoritate promulgatos, et omnibus episcopis ad meliorem dioceseos suæ administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, et visitationis nostræ authoritate præcipere ac statuere de his, ad hunc modum.

PART III.

Singuli doctores et bachallores theologiæ, et singuli præterea artium doctores, solenniter et publice, ante creationem suam, hoc jurejurando sequenti se astringant, et in commentarios academiæ, ad id designatos, suâ ipsorum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus sui capiendi repulsam patiantur.

Ego N. N. Deo teste promitto ac spondeo, primo me veram Christi religionem, omni animo complexurum, scripturæ authoritatem hominum judicio præpositurum, regulam vitæ et summam fidei, ex verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum. Authoritatem regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones, omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum. Vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causâ antehabiturum. Deinde me articulos, de quibus in sinodo Londinensi anno Domini 1553. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat, et regiâ authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam consentientes cum verbo Dei defensurum, et contrarios articulos in scholis et pulpitis vel respondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste, me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

An. 1553, 1 Jun. ex MS.
coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.

Tho. Ely Canc. Joannes Cheeke.
Gul. Meye. Tho. Wendy.

Number 10.

King Edward's devise for the succession, written with his own hand.

Ex MSS. Petyti.

For lack of *issue male* of my body, *to the issue male coming of the issue female, as I have after declared.* To the said Frances heirs males, if she have any; for lack of such issue before my death, to the said Jane and heirs

males; to the said Katherine's heirs males; to the lady Mary's heirs males: to the heirs males of the daughters, which she shall have hereafter. Then to the lady Marget's heirs males. For lack of such issue, to the heirs males of the lady Jane's daughters; to the heirs males of the lady Katherine's daughters, and so forth, till you come to the lady Marget's heirs males.

2. If after my death the heir male be entred into eighteen year old, then he to have the whole rule and governance thereof.

3. But if he be under eighteen, then his mother to be governes, till he enters eighteen year old: but to do nothing without the advice and aggreement of six parcell of a councill, to be pointed by my last will, to the number of 20.

4. If the mother die before the heir enter into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the councill: provided that after he be fourteen year, all great matters of importance be opened to him.

5. *If I died without issue, and there were none heir male; then the lady Frances to be gouvernes regent. For lack of her, her eldest daughters; and for lack of them, the lady Marget to be governes after, as is aforesaid, till some heir male be born; and then the mother of that child to be governes.*

6. *And if, during the rule of the gouvernes, there die four of the councill; then shall she, by her letters, call an assembly of the councill, within one month following, and chuse four more: wherein she shall have three voices. But after her death, the sixteen shall chuse among themselves, till the heir come to fourteen year old; and then he, by their advice, shall chuse them.*

The paragraphs in *Italicks* are dashed out, yet so as to be legible.

RT I. Number 11.

The council's original subscription, to Edward the VIth's limitation of the crown; in these words:

EDWARD.

ss. WE whose hands are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord's earnest desire, and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesty's realms and dominions; and having seen his majesty's own device, touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesties presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesties own hand; and by his highness deliver'd to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order: do, by his majesties speciall and absolute commandment, eftsoones given us, aggree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honours, to observe fully, perform and keep, all and every article, clause, branch and matter, contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majesties hand in six several places: and all such other matter, as his majesty, by his last will, shall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the said imperiall crown. And we do further promise, by his majesty's said commandment, never to vary or swerve, during our lives, from the said limitation of the succession; but the same shall, to the uttermost of our powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof; we, and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him, for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realme; and to do our uttermost to see him or them so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts,

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. Winchester. Northumberland.

J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.

John Gate. William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecill. Edward Mountague. John Baker.

Edward Gryffin. John Lucas.
John Gosnald.

Number 12.

Articles and instructions, annexed to the commission, for taking the surrender of the cathedral of Norwich.

FIRST, the said commissioners shall repair to the cathedral-church of Norwich, declaring to the dean and chapter of the same, that the king's majesty's pleasure is, for diverse good and reasonable causes and considerations, to have the said college to be surrendred and given up into his majesty's hands; to the intent that the same shall be altered in such good and godly wise, as the king that dead is, (whose soul God pardon) amongst other his godly purposes and intents, and the king's majesty that now is, by the advice of his honourable council, hath determined. And that they shall practise and conclude with them, for and in his highness's name, for the same surrender, to be had, done and performed, in such manner and form as by their discretions shall be thought most reasonable and convenient.

2. And after the said surrender, and gift made of the said college, and of all lands, tenements, hereditaments and possessions of the same, by the dean and chapter thereof, to the use of the king's highness, according to a deed and writing, devised and delivered to the said commissioners for that purpose; the said commissioners to take order, with the dean and prebendaries, canons, and all other officers and ministers of the said cathedral-church, that they shall be, remain, continue and minister there, in such sort as they do, until the alteration of the said church shall be made perfect. Declaring further to the same dean, prebendaries and canons, that they, and every of them, shewing themselves

PART III. willing and conformable, according to the king's majesty's commission, shall, from the time of the said surrender, have as much in profit and commodity, for and towards their living, as they had before the same surrender, in such wise, as they shall have good cause to be well satisfied and contented.

3. Also the said commissioners shall make an inventory of all the plate and jewels, ornaments, goods and chattels of the said cathedral-church, and deliver the same to the dean and prebendaries, by bills indented: and the said commissioners are to take order with them that the same may continue, remain, and be used there, until the new erection of the said church, to the intents and purposes that they were ordained for: and declaring further, that the same shall be assigned and given to them, upon the new erection and foundation of the said cathedral-church.

4. Also the said commissioners, calling to them the officers and ministers of the said cathedral-church, shall cause a perfect book, rental or value, to be made, of all the possessions, as well spiritual as temporal, of the same church, with the rents, resolute, and deduction of the same: and also to note and certify the decays thereof, if any be: and to cause the same rentals, book or value, to be certified and delivered into the court of augmentations and revenues of the king's majesty's crown, with as convenient speed as it may be done.

5. *Item*, The said commissioners are to do and execute all such other things as they shall think convenient and necessary, to the full accomplishment of this commission; and to certify the truth and circumstance of the same, together with this commission.

Vera Copia,
H. Prideaux.

Number 13.

An original letter of queen Mary's to king Philip, before he wrote to her.

on library. MONSIEUR, mon bon et perpetuel allie: entendant que l'ambassadeur de l'empereur, monseigneur et bon pere, resi-

dant ches moy depeschoyt le porteur de cestes devers vostre haultesse. Encores que ne niayes particulierement escript dois, que nostre alliance à este traictee. Si est ce me sentant tant obligee, de la sincere et vray affection que me portes, que ves confirmee, tant par les effectz que par les lettres escriptes, audict ambassadeur, et par la negociation que le sieur d'Egmont et aultres, et l'ambassadeur de mon dict seigneur ont traicte. Je ne peu delaisser vous tesmoigner le vouloyr et debuoyr, que jay de vous correspondre a jamais: et vous mercie treshumblement tant de bons offices, et joynctement vous advertis, que le parlement, qui represente les estats du mon royaulme, à approuve les articles de nostre maryage sans contradiction, comme trouvant les condicions dicelluy honorables, advantaigeuses, et plusque raisonnables; que me mect en entiere confidence, que vostre venue par deca sera seure et agreable. Et esperant de brief suplier le surplus verbalement, je feray fin aux presentes; priant le Createur qui vous donnat, monseigneur, mon bon et perpetuel allie, faire vostre voyage par deca en prosperite et sante, me recommendant tresaffectueusement et humblement à vostre haultesse.

A Londres, le xx.
d'April.

Vostre entierement,
Assuree,
Et plus obligee alliee,
MARYE.

Number 14.

Queen Mary's letter to the earl of Sussex, to take care of elections to the parliament.

MARY the Queen.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved cosen, we greet you well. And where for diverse causes, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and the commonwealth of this our realme, wee have thought convenient to call our high court of parliament to the 12th of the next moneth, as by our writ of summonds, sent unto you for that purpose, ye

Ex MSS. Petyti.

RT II. may at better length perceive; likeas for your own part, wee doubt not but ye wil be ready to assist us with your best advice and counsail for the furtherance of our good purpose, in such matters as are to be treated of in our said parliament; so to the end the same may be more gravely debated, and circumspectly handled, to the honour of Almighty God, and general comodity of our loving subjects, wee have thought convenient specially to require and pray you to admonish on our behalfe such our good and loving subjects as, by order of our writs, have the elections of knights, citisens, or burgeses, within our rule, to choose of their inhabitants, as being eligible, by order of our lawes, may be of the wise, grave, and catholick sort. Such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the common-wealth. The advancement whereof wee, and our dear husband the king, doe chiefly professe and intend, without alteration of any particular man's possession, as amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes, and favorers of heresies, doe utterly report. And to the end wee may the better confer with you about these matters that are to be treated of in our said parliament, our pleasure is, you do put your self in a readiness to make your repair hither, so as ye may be with us against the feast of All-Saints at the furthest. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 6th of October, the IId year of our reigne.

Number 15.

Cardinal Pole's first letter to queen Mary.

S. me. BENEDICTA manus omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solum majestatem tuam in alto throno, et possessione regni collocavit; (quod multos annos ad eam spectabat, et ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atq; inter sacras preces petebatur a divina clementia:) sed etiam eò res deduxit, ut non modo res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes amicos incredibili lætitia perfundat, et precipuè pium animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est, prope cum magna clades esset timenda propter fraudes adversariorum, quæ non par-

vis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissima successione privandam; atque cum propter longum spacium sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexendas, putarant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in animis mortalium, effectum est divinâ providentiâ, ut brevi momento temporis irriti ac delusi sint omnes mortalium apparatus: ita conversi sunt, qui humanæ malitiæ militabant ad protegendum honorem Dei, majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius regni salutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua majestas nullis externis viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecti, potuerit regnum ita usurpatum adversus tantam hominum malitiam et potentiam recuperare; aut siquis rogaret, quo modo factum est istud? Res ipsa respondere poterit; Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda hominum, qui ea ratione tibi regnum restituere voluit; atque hoc uno exemplo non solum vestris populis, sed universis Christianis, et barbaris nationibus manifestum fit, quia nullum fit consilium, nec prudentia, nec fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, et quod excelsus dominetur, in regno hominum, et cui voluerit, et quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus divinæ providentiæ in rebus humanis credulitas (præcipuum nostræ religionis fundamentum) si unquam in istud regnum introduci, et confirmari debuit, per ullam manifestam experientiam; hoc maxime tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam authoritatem, ita erat in animis hominum debilitata et in eorum animis præsertim, qui prudentiores, sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum divinæ itaque bonitati placuerit, ita eviedntibus signis suam potentiam in tua majestate extollenda, tunc cum à suis inimicis, et à multis aliis prorsus oppressa putabatur, declarare; hoc est cur maximè omnes boni, et pii glorientur, et quod tibi magis gratum esse certò scio, quam regiam dignitatem. Atque, si ulla fæmina debuit Deum laudare iis verbis suæ sanctissimæ matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea usa est ad exprimendam lætitiam propter divinam providentiam ad sui, humanique generis salutem, cum Spiritu Sancto

PART III. repleta inquit, Magnificat anima mea Dominum, cum iis quæ sequuntur; tua majestas justissima de causa eum Psalmum canere potest; cum in se ipsa sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut divina bonitas respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ: et fecit potentiam in brachio suo, statim deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de divina providentia erga majestatem tuam semper manifestius in administratione cognoscetur tua, cum incremento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem et laudem divinæ majestatis. Enimvero mea erga Deum, et suam ecclesiam pietas, et erga majestatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi; quod est cum ita singulare beneficium a Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres è quibus radicibus perturbationes pullularint, rerum ad justitiam pertinentium et ad veræ religionis cultum; quippe cum illæ indies cum tanta ruina succreverint, in isto regno privata et publica, quanta non ignorantur: atque si hoc ita feceris; percipies profectò principium et causam omnium malorum tunc pullulasse, cum perpetuus humani generis adversarius patri tuo persuasit impurum concilium; ut divortium fieret matris tuæ optimæ reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te in seipsum injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, quod à matre Spiritus divortium fecit omnium Christianorum; à sancta catholica obedientia et ab apostolica reverentia. Ex hoc iniquo et impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita regnum corruperint, ut nullum neque justitiæ neque religionis vestigium apparuerit: tanquam relegatæ sint ambæ, quando reverentia, et obedientia ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque prius sunt redituræ, quam divina obedientia in animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui omnium viventium plura, et istâ, majestatis vestræ causâ passus est: neque ullam defendendæ causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quo toties molestiis sublevarem. Quod nisi mei labores eum finem consecuti sint, quem semper desideravi; sæpius vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens; tamen nunc multo magis lætor, quam si ipse adjutor fuissem; cum apertissimè cognoverim, divinæ providentiæ in majestatem tuam

propensam voluntatem: nam profectò noluit Deus ulla humanâ manu te adjuvari, neque Cæsaris, neque ullius principis: quamvis nunquam cessavit pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam adhortari: neque mea defuit diligentia, utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitantibus, sed divinitus res protracta est donec statutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo divinâ manu sublevareris. Interim usus est Deus eadem ratione, qua erga carissimos et dilectissimos uti consuevit, quas nutrit, et educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere: ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde ipsorum poset extendere, meliusque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam fælicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major occasio concessa est dotes animi tui, quæ divinitus tibi concessæ sunt, à teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit, ut majestati tuæ id significem de re tanta, quanta est ecclesiæ obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quàm antea, qua mente sis erga religionem, et quo pacto affecta: nam cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distam ab urbe Roma, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum; per literas summi pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectam, et quod ego sim delectus legatus à sancta sede apostolica ad majestatem tuam et ad Cæsarem, atque ad Galliarum regem, ut tibi gratularer pro victoria Dei in hac causa ipsius Dei: sed quia quanti res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: cujus causâ præsentem nuncium cum meis literis mitto: neque istud quidem, quia de optima voluntate tua subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam, erga Deum fuisse cognovi, et acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observatissimam, inter quas obedientia apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui maximè omnium favere debes. Nam certè quidem majestatis tuæ pater nullâ aliâ de causa apostolicam obedientiam reliquit, nisi quia nollet pontifex Romanus causæ suæ favere turpi et iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantaque malitia conata est evellere ex animis hominum penitusque restinguere hanc

PART III.

ipsam obedientiam et observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex te ipsa percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura ad ipsius vicarii Christi legatione perfungendum, idque ad istius regni beneficium et consolationem, cujus fælicitas et quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex qua sancta obedientia expugnari cœpta est, coactaque solum vertere. Decrevi igitur prius responsum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optimæ respondeat, ab omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de majestate tua conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, et incrementum fælicitatis tuæ, et istius regni. Quod si mihi benignam audientiam concesseris, spero futurum Dei optimi maximi beneficio, ut intelligas in hac ipsa obedientia ecclesiæ consistere, et collocatum esse fundamentum et stabilimentum omnium bonorum ipsius regni. Sic igitur rogans omnipotentem Deum, ut pro sua infinita misericordia majestatem tuam fortunet in ipso imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciam dicendi. Cænobio Megazeni Benaci. Eidus Sextilis. 1553.

Reginaldus Polus.

Number 16.

The queen's answer to it.

Optime sobrine Pole, in Christo observandissime; accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, ex quibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc regnum, patriam tuam nimirum, et erga legitimos hæredes, cum summa lætitiæ significatione ob ea, quæ placuerunt divinæ clementiæ omnipotentis Dei in ostendenda sua erga me vera, justissima, infinitaq; misericordia; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere sentio, cum monitus amantissimos præterea in literis addideris: quod si nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certè maximum intercedit; tamen vel hac una de causa maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amenter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe cum neq; unquam fuerim, nec sim, neq; ut divinæ misericordiæ

confido unquam futura sim catholicæ adhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam obedientiam, et debitam observantiam erga sponsam Christi, et matrem divinam, suam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commodè docere: is non poterit explanare quanta sit animi mei molestia, propterea quod non possim animi mei sententiam in hac re prorsus patefacere; sed cum primum data erit facultas sinceritatis animi mei erga divinum cultum explicandæ, obedientiæq; quid sentiam exequendæ, faciam te per literas certiorem. Quod spectat ad coronationem, idem nuncius omnia planè explicare poterit, multaq; alia quibus illum adesse volui; cum mirificè omnipotentis Dei misericordia confidam, futurum ut hæc comitia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce regni semina pullularunt. Spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam à summi pontificis clementia obtineam, cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillimè gratias agas pro sua multiplici in me bonitate, ut in eadem persistat clementia, omnemq; præteritorum commissorum oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur remitto spe postulationis non irritæ futuræ operâ tuâ; quando tantum benevolentiæ, et fraternæ charitatis, mihi pignus obtulisti: me itaque plurimum sancto patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi.

BOOK V.

Westmonasterii, sexto
idus Octobris.

Maria regina.

Number 17.

Cardinal Pole's general powers, for reconciling England to the church of Rome.

JULIUS papa III.

DILECTE fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dudum, cum charissima in Christo filia nostra, Maria Angliæ tunc princeps, regina declarata fuisset, et speraretur regnum Angliæ, quod, sæva regum tyrannide, ab unione sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ separatum fuerat; ad ovile gregis Domini, et ejusdem ecclesiæ unionem, ipsa Maria primum

Ex MS. penes me.

ART III. regnante, redire posse. Nos te, præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, ac multa doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam reginam, et universum Angliæ regnum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, et unanimi consensu, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis, legatum de latere destinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes et singulas utriusque sexus, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas, seculares, et quorumvis ordinum regulares, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque statûs, gradûs, conditionis et qualitatis existerent, ac quacunque ecclesiasticâ, etiam episcopali, archiepiscopali, et patriarchali; aut mundano, etiam marchionali, ducali, aut regia dignitate præfulgerent: etiamsi capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas forent: quarumcunque hæresium, aut novarum sectarum, professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectos, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorum errorem cognoscentes, et de illis dolentes, ac ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in eis, vera et non ficta, aut simulata pœnitentia, ab omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis, (hæreses, et ab eadem fide apostasias, blasphemias, et alios quoscunque errores, etiam sub generali sermone non venientes, sapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; nec non excommunicationum, suspensionum, interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis, ac temporalibus etiam corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis, in eos præmissorum occasione, à jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiam si in iis viginti, et plus annis insorduissent; et eorum absolutio, nobis et divinæ sedi, et per literas, in die cœnæ domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, conscientiæ videlicet, et contentioso foro, plenariè absolvendi, et liberandi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi: nec non cum eis super irregularitate, per eos, præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati, missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias ab ecclesia eatenus probatas et usitatas, celebrassent, aut illis alias semiscuissent. Contracta nec non bigamia per eosdem ecclesiasticos, seculares, vel regulares, verè aut fictè, seu alias qualitercunque incursa; (etiamsi ex eo quod clerici in sacris

uti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, matrimonium con-
ent, pretenderetur) rejectis et expulsis tamen prius
us, sic de facto copulatis. Quodque bigamia, et ir-
itate ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum or-
s dummodo ante eorum lapsum in hæresin hujusmodi,
legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in al-
inisterio ministrare, ac quæcunque et qualitercunque
urata beneficia, secularia vel regularia, ut prius, dum-
super eis alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere:
promoti, ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus
, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fu-
promoveri, beneficia ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonicè
ntur, recipere et retinere valerent, dispensandi et in-
di: ac omnem infamiæ, et inhabilitatis maculam sive
ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus et
abolendi; nec non ad pristinos honores, dignitates,
et patriam, et bona etiam confiscata; in pristinum-
t eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant,
restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi: ac eis, dum-
corde contriti eorum errata et excessus, alicui per eos
lo catholico confessori, sacramentaliter confiterentur,
nitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem prop-
njungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam
ionem, abjurationem, renunciationem, et pœnitentiam
ebitam, arbitrio suo moderandi, vel in totum remit-
Nec non communitates et universitates, ac singulares
as quascunque, à quibusvis illicitis pactionibus et con-
nibus, per eos cum dominis aberrantibus, seu in eo-
vorem, quomodo libet initis, et iis præstitis juramen-
homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione; et si
eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum,
absolvendi, et juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quos-
regulares et religiosos, etiam in hæresin hujusmodi
fertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ
icentia vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu, et excommuni-
s, aliisque censuris ac pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos
rea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incursis,
absolvendi. Ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio ecclesi-

ART III.

astico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu; etiam in habitu clerici secularis, habitum suum regularem, sub honesta toga presbyteri secularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem regularia loca remanere, liberè et licitè possint, dispensandi. Nec non quibusvis personis, etiam ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus, et aliis anni temporibus et diebus, quibus usus ovorum et carnium est de jure prohibitus, butiro et caseo, et aliis lacticiniis; ac dictis ovis et carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui catholicus existeret, medici consilio, aut si locorum et personarum qualitate inspecta, ex defectu piscium aut olei, vel indispositione personarum earundem, seu alia causa legitima id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti et vesci possint, indulgendi et concedendi. Nec non per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos clericos seculares, tantum presbyteros, diaconos, aut subdiaconos, qui matrimonium cum aliquibus virginibus, vel corruptis secularibus, etiam mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognita eorum vera ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præsertim clericis in sacris ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet uxores habere, scandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen altaris, ac alia sacerdotum ministeria, et titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis sententia, et aliis reatibus propterea incursis; injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe conjugii, quod inter se matrimonium legitimè contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum foret, licitè remanere possent, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi. Ac quæcunque beneficia ecclesiastica, tam secularia quam regularia, et quæ per rectores catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen rectorum catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri beneficio ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio universali, vel scholis lite-

rariis; uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, et proventus, seu bonorum eorundem beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, et dismembrandi; ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum et dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis, seu hospitalibus, vel studiis aut scholis, seu piis usibus, similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi et appropriandi. *At* N. B. *cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum, (restitutis, prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi.* Ac quicquid concordiis et transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in studiorum universalium, aut scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi; omniaque et singula alia, in quæ in præmissis, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, et exercendi. Nec non catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, et literarum scientia præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, et ætate veneranda; de quarum probitate et circumspectione, ac charitatis zelo plena fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata potestate, (absolutione et dispensatione clericorum, circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione, et applicatione, ac concordia cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum, et eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) substituendi et subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates, per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in forma brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum tu ad partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad regnum transfreatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimium forsan scrupulosis, hæsitetur; an tu, in partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus, uti ac in eodem regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas; quæ facultatibus per te, juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem substituere et

ART III. delegare possis. Nos causam tuæ subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circumspectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de licentia nostra moram traxeris, legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipsum regnum existens; omnibus et singulis prædictis, et quibusvis aliis tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentes tibi conceduntur; facultatibus etiam erga quoscunque, archiepiscopos, episcopos, ac abbates, aliosque, ecclesiarum tam secularium, quam quorumvis ordinum regularium, nec non monasteriorum, et aliorum regularium locorum prelatos, non secus ac erga alios inferiores clericos, uti possis; nec non erga alias personas, in singulis literis prædictis quovismodo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes; etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, et munus consecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis episcopis vel archiepiscopis, etiam hæreticis et schismaticis, aut alias minus ritè et non servata forma ecclesiæ consueta impensum fuit: etiam si ordines et munus hujusmodi, etiam circa altaris ministerium temerè executi sint, per te ipsum, vel alios, ad id à te pro tempore deputatos, liberè uti; ac in eodem regno, tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios alias personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, libere utantur; et eas exerceant et exequantur: alias, juxta ipsarum literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare. Nec non de personis quorumcunque episcoporum vel archiepiscoporum, qui metropolitanam aut alias cathedrales ecclesias de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum, et presertim qui de Henrici regis et Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, et eorum regimini et administratione se ingresserunt, et eorum fructus reditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri archiepiscopi aut episcopi temere et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in hæresin aut prefertur, inciderint, seu ante hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati sanctæ matris ecclesiæ restituti exstiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos

esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbuntur, eisdem metropolitanis et aliis cathedralibus ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibusvis aliis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illorum præsulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria regina juxta consuetudinis ipsius regni, tibi supplicaverit authoritate nostra providere ipsasque personas eisdem ecclesiis in episcopos aut archiepiscopos præficere: ac cum iis qui ecclesias cathedrales et metropolitanas, de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum ut prefertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias ritè transferri contigerit, cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos vel archiepiscopos præesse ipsasq; ecclesias in spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare ac munere consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab episcopis vel archiepiscopis catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere et licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus preteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis in episcopos et archiepiscopos prefici et præesse, illasq; in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare: ac ad quoscunq; etiam sacros et presbyteratos ordines promovere, et in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare nec non munus consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti libere et licite valeant; dispensare etiam libere et licite possis, plenam et liberam apostolicam authoritatem per presentes concedimus facultatem et potestatem: non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis literis præteritis voluimus non obstare, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 8. Martis 1554. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Number 18.

A letter from cardinal Pole to the bishop of Arras, upon king Philip's arrival in England, and his marriage to the queen.

A Monsr. d'Arras.

Mto. illre. è revdo. sigre.

Havendo à quest' hora ricevuto particolari avisi dopo l' arrivo del serenissimo principe del regno d' Inghilterra, del felice successo del matrimonio mi e parso convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con S. majestà Cesarea sicome fo con l' alligata la quale indirizzo à V. S. per la confidenza che ho nella solita sua cortesia, pregandola sia contenta presentarla a sua majestà col baciarle riverentemente le mani de parte mia. L'abbate Sagante suo l' altr' hieri me communico una lettera di V. S. che dava particolar aviso della ritirata de Franzesi il che mi fu di molta consolatione. Ben si e visto di quant' importanza sia la presenza di S. majestà. Ancor non e arrivato ill messo mio da Roma, ma spero non possa tardar molto: subbito che sarà gionto, non mancarò di darne aviso a V. S. alla quale di cuore mi racommando e prego N. Sigr Iddio la conservire favorisca a suo servitio. Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

Reginaldo card. Pole.

Number 19.

A letter from cardinal Pole to the cardinal de Monte, acknowledging the pope's favour in sending him full powers.

Al card. di Monte.

Revmo. et illmo. sigr. mio ossmo.

Scrissi a V. S. reverendissima per l' ultime mie, l' aviso dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del serenissimo principe, il qual' e poi stato con la serenissima regina a Vincestre, ove hanno celebrato il sponsalitio il di San Giacomo con gran sollennita come V. S. reverendissima piacendole potra intendere dall' essibitor di questa, al quale mi rimetto in quel di piu, che in tal proposito io le potessi dire e bacio humilmente la mano

verendissima et illustrissima in suo buona gratia dandomi. di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

' hora e giunto l' Ormaneto con l' espeditione che darle alla santità di nostro signore, tutto secondo si potesse desiderare dalla pietà e benignità sua di Dio, e della sua chiesa in questa causa cossi del che prego V. S. reverendissima sia contenta umilmente a nome mio i piedi a sua beatit^ne^ alla la prima occasione non mac caro di dar pieno ıanto sarà bisogno. In vero l' arrivar dell' Or- ı poteva esser più a tempo, e spero che N. signor' ra gratia, che le cose s' indirizzeranno in modo ıtità col servitio di sua divina maestà ne resterà Il tempo non patisce che per hora io possa essere e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di V. S. ima et illustrissima.

Reginaldo card. Polo.

di Luglio 1554 il signore Ormaneto arrivo ıxelles con l' infratta speditione.

Number 20.

ıpowering cardinal Pole to execute his faculties ation to England, while he yet remained beyond ! out of England.

rd. Polo.

Julius papa III.

E fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictio- perioribus mensibus ex diversis tunc expressis ıd charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Mariam ginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum deinde pro conciliando inter eos pace ad charissi- ıristo filios nostros Carolum Romanum imperato- er Augustum, et Henricum Francorum regem ssimum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de ratrum nostrorum concilio destinavimus. Et licet et quidem amplissimis facultatibus, quibus etiam ıs Flandriæ existens, quoad personas et negocia

ART III. regni Angliæ hujusmodi uti posses per diversas nostras tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Quia tamen ob schismata, et alios errores, quibus dictum regnum diutius inflectum fuit, multi casus potuerunt contingere, qui provisione per dictam sedem facienda indigebunt et sub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, et inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, et insuper à nonnullis hæsitatur an tu facultatibus hujusmodi in insulis et dominiis eidem Mariæ reginæ subjectis uti possis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum imperatorem et quibus apud Henricum regem præfatos existens utaris: nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrina, et prudentia, in Domino benè confidentes, et volentes omnem in præmissis hæsitandi materiam amputare, circumspectioni tuæ, ut ubicumq; fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ legatione tua hujusmodi durante, omnibus et singulis tibi concessis hactenus, et in posterum concedendis facultatibus, quo ad personas et negotia regni ac insularum et dominiorum hujusmodi per te vel alium vel alios juxta ipsarum facultatum continentiam, et tenorem uti, ac omnia et singula quæ tibi pro omnipotentis Dei, et nostro ac ejusdem sedis honore, nec non regni, insularum et dominorum prædictorum ad sanctæ, catholicæ, ecclesiæ, communionem, reductione ac personarum in illis existentium animarum salute expedire judicaveris, et si ea in generali mandato et facultatibus tibi alias concessis non veniant, sed specialem expressionem et mandatum magis speciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, et exequi, nec non quandiù pro pace hujusmodi tractanda, vel aliis negociis nostrum, et sedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum imperatorem fueris, omnibus et singulis facultatibus olim dilecto filio Hieronimo tituli S. Matthæi presbitero cardinali tunc apud ipsum Carolum imperatorem nostro et præfatæ sedis legato de latere concessis, et in omnibus provinciis, regnis, dominiis, terris, et locis, sub illis comprehensis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum regem extiteris eis omnibus, que dudum dilecto filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum aureum diacono cardinali tunc apud Henricum regem eundem, nos-

tro et dictæ sedis legato concessæ fuerunt, facultatibus, et in omnibus provinciis regnis, dominiis, terris, et locis sub illis comprehensis uti liberè et licitè valeas, in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si illæ tibi specialiter et expresse concessæ fuissent, apostolica autem tenore presentium concedimus, et indulgemus, ac facultates tibi concessas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo presbitero, et Hieronimo diacono cardinalibus præfatis concessis, voluimus non obstare cæterisq; contrariis quibusq; dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXVI Junii 1554, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Jo. Larinen'.

Number 21.

A second breve containing more special powers, relating to the abbey-lands.

JULIUS papa III.

DILECTE fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe per Dei misericordiam et charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Mariæ Angliæ reginæ, summam religionem, et pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ regni, quod jamdiu quorundam impietate, à reliquo catholicæ ecclesiæ corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem catholicæ et universalis ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatam Mariam reginam, atque universum illud regnum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere, tanquam pacis et concordiæ angelum, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confect'onem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia circumspectione tua, ut cum bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus malè perceptis, et bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordare et transigere, ac eos desuper liberare et

quietare, ubi expedire posset, authoritatem concessimus et facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis literis plenius continetur: cum autem ex iis principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ sedulitate et diligentia, rectaque et constante in Deum mente, tuo et in ea re cooperante studio atque consilio, præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto regno usque ad hanc diem habetur, ejusdemque præclari operis perfectio indies magis speretur; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessionibus, in illa superiorum temporum confusione, per illius provinciæ homines occupatis, apostolicæ benignitatis et indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo nationis recuperationem, et tot animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri sanguine redemptarum, salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri; more pii patris, in nostrorum et sanctæ catholicæ filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus, ad nos respectantium et redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; tibi, de cujus præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, doctrina, sapientia, ac in rebus gerendis prudentia et dexteritate, plenam in Domino fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque honorum ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato regno possessoribus, seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, arbitrio tuo, authoritate nostra, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis ut præfata bona sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque et singula alia, quæ in his, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna fuerint, concludendi et faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis, beneplacito et confirmatione, plenam et liberam apostolicam authoritatem, tenore præsentium, et ex certa scientia, concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus literis, fælicis recordationis Pauli papæ II. prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis ecclesiasticis, nisi certa forma servata, et aliis quibusvis apostolicis, ac in provincialibus et synodalibus

conciliis, edictis generalibus, vel specialibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, ac aliorum regularium et piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis, fundationibus, statutis et consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 28. Junii 1554, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

Number 22.

A letter to cardinal Pole, from cardinal de Monte, full of high civilities.

Al card. Pòlo.

Rev^mo. et ill^mo. sig^r. mio col^mo.

Ritornando à V. S. reverendissima et illustrissima l' auditor suo con l' espeditioni, che ella vedrà, à me non occorre dirle altro se non supplicarla, che si degni mantenermi nella sua bona gratia, è di non si scordare d' haver qui un servitore che in amarla, et osserverla non cede à qualsivoglia altra persona, è che il maggior favore, che io sia per aspettare sempre da V. S. reverendissima et illustrissima sarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto questo, che mi conoscerà buono per servirla; il che sò d' haverle scritto più volte, e non mi e grave di replicarlo. Sua sanctita sta cossi bene della persona come sia stata di dieci anni in quà, ringratiato Iddio: e saluta e benedice V. S. reverendissima et illustrissima e li desidera, e prega ogni prosperità nelle sue negociationi importantissime, a tutta la Christianita, et io le bacio humilmente le mani. Di Roma alli xv. di Luglio 1554.

H. card. di Monte.

PART III.

Number 23.

A letter from cardinal Morone to cardinal Pole, telling him how uneasy the pope was, to see his going to England so long delayed; but that the pope was resolved not to recall him.

Al card. Polo.

Rev^mo. et ill^mo. sig^r. mio oss^mo.

AVANTI la partita mia di Roma hebbi la lettera di V. S. reverendissima delli 25 di Maggio in risposta delle mie, che gli haveuo scritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi avisi del nuncio, doppo che V. S. reverendissima fu ritornata alla corte dal viaggio di Francia, hebbi ancora l' altra di 28 del Medesmo, con la querela Christiana, che ella fà contro di me, anzi per dir meglio con la dottrina che V. S. reverendissima con sancta charità querelandosi m' insegna, sopra la quale non m' occorre dir altro, se non che ella ha gran raggione, et che io l' ho fatto torto a scriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e spero che ella mi habbi perdonato; nell' altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occasione di Guadagnar questa sua altra lettera, e dato a lei occasione di esplicarsi in questo modo in lettre come ha fatto, e ne ringratio Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che si sia degnata mandarmi lettera cossi grata, la qual potrà servire a più d' un proposito.

La prima di 21, Fù in summa communicata da me a nostro signiore parendomi necessario chiarir bene sua sanctità, si per giustificatione delle attioni passate di V. S. reverendissima come per non lasciar, che sua sanctità stesse nella disperatione dimostrata gia delle cose d' Inghilterra, e della bonta del mezzo della persona sua: e benche S. sanctità non havesse patienza secondo l' ordinario suo di leggere, o di udir la lettera, nondimeno le dissi talmente la summa, che mostrò restare satisfattissima, e disse esser più che certa, che quella non haveua dato causa ne all' imperatore, ne ad altri d' usar con lei termini cosi estravaganti. E quanto alla revocatione di V. S. reverendissima sempre persisteva che non si potesse fare senza grand indignità sua, e dishonor della sede apo-

stolica, e carico dell' imperatore istesso, e di V. S. reverendissima, e gran pregiudicio del regno d' Ingliterra: et benche dicesse di scrivere alla Cæsarea Majestà, nondimeno non si risolveua in tutto, com anco non si risolveua nella materia delli beni ecclesiastici, sopra la qual sua sanctità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel rescrivere alla regina d' Inghliterra, et al prencipe di Spagna, come V. S. reverendissima havera inteso da M. Francisco Stella, et intenderà hora dall' Ormaneto, il qual sarà portator di questa, e tandem vien' espedito in tutti li punti quasi conformi al bisogno, et al desiderio suo.

Io son venuto a star qui a sutrio sin le prime acque d' Agotto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornero a Roma. E le cause della partita mia V. S. reverendissima hora l' intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non essendo stato opportuno scriverle prima; non ho havuto altro scrupulo se non partirmi, restando il negocio, e l' espeditioni dell' Ormaneto cossi in pendente. Ma conoscendo la sufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' introduttione, che hanno quelli ministri di V. S. reverendissima giudicando, non poterui far di più di quel che già più volte haveua fatto, pensai che essi haveriano potuto supplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occorre al presente che io le scriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non e bisogno affaticarla in leggere mie lettere. Resta sole che Iddio conduca esso, e M. Antonio a salvamento essendo il viaggio in ogni parte da qui in Fiandra tanto pericoloso, doppo che io preghi, che sua Majestà divina prosperi e feliciti V. S. reverendissima, ad honor e gloria sua in quell' Attioni, che ha per le mani, come son certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi comandi al solito, perche comme ho detto, faccio conto, s' altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella possi haver risposta da lei, poter' esser di ritorno a Roma, e con questo faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buona gratia di V. S. reverendissima mi raccomando. Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

Il card. Morone.

Al card. Polo.

RT II.

Number 24.

A letter from Ormanet to Priuli, giving an account of what passed in an audience the bishop of Arras gave him.

A monsieur Priuli.

Claris^mo^. e m^to^. rev^do^. sig^r^. mio.

QUESTA mattina assai per tempo io gionsi al campo, et ancor che io poco sperassi d' haver commoda audienza da monsieur d' Arras, stando si sul Marchiare, nondimeno l' hebbi con la gratia di nostro signiore Iddio, assai commoda e grata, e fui gratiosamente visto da S. signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era stato commesso da monsieur illustrissimo. La risposta fù che l' imperatore haveua molto a cuore queste cose della religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancaco d' aiutare questa sant' impresa, come ha sempre fatto in simili occasioni con pericoli fin della vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era stata il principio e fundamento del mio raggionamento, a lui pareva, che si fosse caminato alquanto prosperamente, non si sapendo altro doppo la venuta del rè d' Inghilterra, che la celebration' e solennità del matrimonio, e che pur Sarebbe stato a proposito, innanzi che s' andasse più oltre, veder che camino pigliavano le cose del regno, e che dovendosi dar conto a sua majestà di quello, perche io ero stato mandato, esso giudicava necessario che si fosse venuto più al particolare circa due cose, la forma delle faculta d' intorno questi beni (che gran differenza Sarebbe se fosse stata commessa la cosa o al S. cardinale, o alli serenissimi principi) e poi il modo che voleua tener sua sig. reverendissima circa questo assetto, e qui esso tocco che fosse stato bene vedere la copia delle faculta. A la cosa del tempo io risposi che per questa opera era sempre maturo, immò che non se ne doveua perdere momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendosi dar principio a quest' impresa col far capace ogn' uno di quello, che veramente fosse il ben suo, e persuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' officio spetta principalmente al signior Legato, non si vede che a far questo il tempo non sia sempre maturo, soggiongendo che S. majesta non dove-

rebbe mai lasciar passer l' occasione di questa venuta del principe suo figlivolo in dar compimento a questa riduttione, percio che facendosi hora, l' honor di questa impresa sarebbe stato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particolar delle facultà, dissi che havendo detto a S. signoria che questo assetto era stato commessa all' arbitrio di S. signoria illustrissima mi pareva d' haver satisfatto assai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora risoluto, non si potendo pigliare in una cosa tale alcuna risolutione se non sul fatto, e doppo che ella fosse stata presente, per la necessaria informatione di molte cose che corrono in questa materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che S. signoria reverendissima intendera più lungamente alla mia venuta. La conclusione fù che esso non mancarebbe d' informar sua majestà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in questo, e qui mi disse dell animo che haveva sempre havuto d' aiutar queste cose della religione, e del desiderio che teneva di servir sempre S. S. illustrissima ringratiandola che l' adoperasse io. Circa l' aspetter la risposta di S. majestà mi disse che non potendo esso far' all' hora questo officio per la partita del campo, io me ne venissi a Valentiana, dove havuta la resolutione da S. majestà mi farebbe chiamarè: e che non mi pigliassi altro affanno di questo, e cossi me ne son venuto quà con questo disegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a S. signoria di far quest' officio, e posdimane non essendo chiamato ritornarmene a solicitare l' espeditione. Io ho voluto dar questo conto di quello che fin' hora e passato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che fossi stato aspettato, non si stesse in qualche sospension d' animo. Sua majestà sta gagliarda, e cavalca, e va personalmente vedendo l' essercito, e le cose come passano, il qual' essercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno e partito da dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, et e andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una legha, e più vicino al campo Francese, il quale questa mattina e partito da Crevacore e venuto una legha più in quà. Bascio la mano a monsr. illustrissimo e mi raccomando a V. S. da Valentiano. L' ultimo di Luglio 1554.

Ser' Nicolò Ormaneta.

PART III.

Number 25.

The letter that the bishop of Arras wrote to cardinal Pole upon that audience.

Al card. Polo.

Ill^mo. e rev^mo. sig^r. mio oss^mo.

Trovomi con due lettere di V. S. illustrissima nella prima delle quali elle si rallegra della felice arrivata del principe N. S. adesso rè d' Inghilterra in quel regno, e del consumato matrimonio, la lettera del medesimo per S. majestà Cesarea ho data io medesimo, alla quale e piacciuto sommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente da V. S. illustrissima: dipoi arrivò assai presto il suo auditore portator di questa, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteso quanto V. S. reverendissima li haveva commesso di riferirmi sopra le lettere credentiali, che egli mi ha portato, di che tutto ho fatto relatione a S. majestà Cesarea, la quale mi ha comandata risponderle quello che esso suo auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando S. majestà conveniente, che V. S. reverendissima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che consultato il tutto con quelli serenissimi re, come fa con un corriero expresso partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro il stato presente delle cose di la e quello che conforme a questo quel regno potria al presente comportare, accio che inteso il tutto S. majestà possa meglio risolversi alla risposta che ella haverà a dare a V. S. reverendissima su quella che di sua parte ha proposto il detto suo auditore: non dubitando punto che come sua maesstà e V. S. illustrissima hanno il zelo, che esse et ambidoi i rè hanno alle cose delle religione, che terranno per certo, che non lascieranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' esse nel punto regno: caminandovi contal moderatione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non si troncasse per sempre il camino al remedio. E senza più a V. S. illustrissima bacio humilmente la mano. Dall' exercito Cesarea appresso Buchain li iii d' Agosto 1554.

Di V. S. reverendissima
humil ser^e il Vescovo d' Arras.

Number 26.

Cardinal Pole's answer to the bishop of Arras his letter.

A monsr. d' Arras.

Molto illre. revdo. sigr.

DALLA lettera di V. S. e dalla relatione del mio auditore ho inteso quanto e piaciuto a sua maestà farmi per hora sapere della mente sua, intorno il negocio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riservandosi a darmene maggior risolutione, quando haverà inteso da quelli serenissimi prencipi il presente stato delle cose di la, perilche haveva spedito subbito un corriero; io mio sono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezo di tanti, et si urgenti negocii della guerra S. majestà habbia havuto tanta cura, e sollicitudine di questa causa di Dio, la quale quando sia ben conclusa, non dubito le porterà seco ogni buon successoin tutto il resto; starò a spettando quello che piacerà a S. majestà di farmi sapere, poiche haverà havuto risposta d' Inghilterra, ne altramente pensai prima mi convenisse fare. Et in questo mezo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che cossi faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel regno questo tempo, nel quale sua divina maestà lo visita con la gratia sua, come son certo intendino benissimo i capi loro, acciò che non si habbita a dir contra di essi, milvus cognovit tempus suum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus visitationis suæ, ma havendo Iddio data gratia e quei catholici principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere et essequir' a gli altri, quello che in questa causa con l' honor di S. majestà sarà di salute, et universal beneficio di tutti, spero che le maestà loro non siano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aspetta dalla pietà loro, essende massimamente eccitati, et aiutati, et in ciò dall' authorità e prudentia di sua majestà Cesarea: havendo inteso che a V. S. saria stato di satisfattione veder copia del breve della facultà concessami da N. Sr. circa la dispositione di i beni ecclesiastici, io glie la mando con questa, pregandola sia contenta farmi intendere dalla ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza sua verso di me, e della cortesia usata al detto mio auditore. Dal monasterio di Diligàm. alli 5 d' Agosto 1554. Reginaldo card. Polo.

PART III.

Number 27.

Cardinal Pole's letter to king Philip.

Al re d' Inghilterra.

Ser^me^ rex.

Cum maximè antea lætatus essem, cognito ex fama ipsa, et litteris meorum optatissimo majestis tuæ in Angliam adventu, et fælicissimis nuptiis, quæ cum serenissima regina nostra summo omnium gaudio et gratulatione celebratæ sunt: tamen hanc meam lætitiam magnoperè cumularunt serenitatis tuæ litteræ a domino comite de Horne, cum is in castris apud majestatem Cæsaream remansisset, heri missæ ad me per nobilem virum D. de S^to^ Martino majestis tuæ domestic..m, eumdem cui ego has ad illam perferendas dedi. Etenim expressam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, qua majestatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi verè regii altitudine proficiscitur. Itaq; ego majestati tuæ ob hoc benevolentiæ signum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametsi per alia litteras uberius hoc ipso officio functus sum, tamen iterum illi de hoc fælici matrimonio divina providentia, ut planè persuasum habeo, ad istius regni quietem conciliato, gratulor. Idq; eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram sibi pontificis maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum summo totius ecclesiæ gaudio, et istius regni salute. Reliquum est ut majestati tuæ omnia obsequa, quæ illi vel pro legationis munere publice præstare possum, vel jam ut meo principi ac domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honoremque pertinebunt studiosissimè semper præstabo. Deus Opt. Max. majestatem tuam una cum serenissima reverendissima regina custodiat, ac diutissimè fælicem conservat. Mon^tio^. Diligà prope Bruxellas VII idus Augusti 1554.

Reginaldo card. Polus.

Number 28.

A letter of cardinal Pole's to the pope, giving an account of a conference that he had with Charles the Vth, concerning the church lands.

Beatissime pater,

E MOLTO tempo che non havendo cosa d'importanza, non ho scritto a V. santita per non molestarle: facendole col mezo del mio agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora jo non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con monsieur d'Arrass et poi di quel che ho negotiato con sua majestà. Mons. d'Arras alli ex che fu il giorno istesso che sua majestà torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all hora meco monsieur il nuncio, mi disse, che sua majestà havea veduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negotio della religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua pietat, et anche per l' interesse, che ne sequeria de quel regno et de questi paiesi per la congiuntione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua majestà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, et atrattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: sopra che sua maesta mi udiva molto volentieri, jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua maesta, e che io ni era stato sempre persuasissimo. Na che quanto pertineva all officio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. santita per far intender l'ottima sua mente verso la salute di quello regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita sua potesser venire; a me non toccava sar altro, che procurar d' haver l' adito: e che ad esse principi, quali sono ful fatto, et hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fussero in contrario: e tornando pur esso monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particulari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto inquella della pace; nella quale ciascuna delle

PART III.

parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particulari; percio che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. santita e sua maesta Cesarea, et quei principi hanno il medesimo fine, et noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io dovessi pensare e raggionar in particolare, con sua maesta di quest impedimenti. E monsieur il nuncio al hora voltatosi a me desse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: e cosi al fine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. majesta, monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell audientia di S. maesta, nella quale si trovo presente monsieur il nuncio, e monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua maesta, che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi della molestie della guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d'animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposita che quando si parti; in che si videva che il signior Iddio haveva preservata et preservava, a maggior cose in honor di S. divina maesta a beneficio commune. Sua maesta confermo sentersi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: entrai poi a dire della lettera, che io haveva scritta a S. maesta della resposta che monsieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimetersi al breve. Retorno di sua maesta qui, e dissi che se havessi a tratter questo negocio con altro principe, della pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua maesta, dimostrata da lei con tanti segni, e nella vita sua privata, e nell attioni publiche, cercarei de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar, e favorir questa cosi santa causa. Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. maesta et del serenissimo re suo figlivolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fussero in questo negocio: i quali per quanto io poteva considerere sono di duo sorti:

uno pertinente alla doctrina catollica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanar altrimente questo male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona doctrina. L' altro impedimento essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quale, sapendo la severita delle leggi ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar al obedienza della Chiesa, desse dissi che in questa parte V. santita poteva, et era disposta ad usar la sua benignita et indulgenza: e primo quanto alle censure e pene incorse, et alle restitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. santita haveva animo nell una nell altra di questo due cose d' usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamento il tutto: ne pensava d' applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla sede apostolica, come multi temevano: benche di raggione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie et damni recevuti; ma che voleva convertir il tutto in sevitio d' Iddio, et a beneficio del regno, senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: et confidandosi nella pieta di quei principi, voleva far loro quest' honore di far per mezo del suo legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta et intercessione delle loro maesta, a quelle persone che esse giudicassero degne d' essere gratificate, et atte ad ajutar la causa della religione. Sua maesta respondendo ringratio prima molto V. santita mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente, et con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: poi disse che per gli impedimenti et occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negocio, come faria stato ii suo desiderio: ma che hora gli attenderia; et che haveva gia scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cosa, et aspettava in breve risposta: et che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d' beni; il quali esso per lesperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla doctrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via: disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere cosi ogni cosa, a quelli che li

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tenevano: e che se bene a lei io dicesse fin dove s' estendesse la mia faculta, non pero si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: e che sara bisogni veder il breve della faculta, per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: alche io risposi haverlio gia fatto vedere a monsieur d'Arras, il quale non disse altra: e dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il parlamento, era d' avertire grandimente, che non si facesse senza conclusione nella causa dell obedienza della chiesa; che quando altrimente si facesse, sarebbe d'un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il mondo, e danno alla detta causa: e che se bene la regina a fare un cosi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiuntione del re suo marito, come che non esse bonum mulierem esse solam, se hora che Iddio ha prosperito e condotto al fine questa santa congiuntione, si differisse piu l' essecutione di questo effetto, che dove essar il principio et il fundamento di tutte le loro regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli huomini: e dicendo S. maesta che bisognava anco haver grand respetto alla mala dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d' obedienza della chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l' habito ancora de i religiosi, voltatosi all hora a monsieur nuncio e in tel proposito parlando de frati condotti di Spagnia dal re suo figlivolo, che fu consegliato far loro mutar l' habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conveniva fare: con dire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del popolo, et in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officii, che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli interessali massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la riposta d' Inghilterra, col ritorno del secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi, e conferissi di quelle cose con monsieur d' Arras. V. beatitudine puo con la

sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sara necessario, che qui si trattino le difficulta sopra questa beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza, quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. santita si degnira intendere dall agente mio, alla quale conla debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi pregnando il sig. Iddio, che la conservi longamente a servitio della sua Chiesa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus card. Polus.

Number 29.

A part of Mason's letter to queen Mary, concerning cardinal Pole.

CARDINAL Poole having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, th'one for the meanning of a cyvill peas betweene the French king and the emperor; and the other for the helping to conclude a spirituall peas, as he termeth yt, in the realme of England; perceyving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good mynde doth desyre, dothe begynne, as me semeth, to be owte of comfort: and being in manner clerely in dispayre of th'one, yf he receyve not shortlye some likeliadde of the other, being wery of so much tyme spent wythout frute, begynneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy. If he return without the seing of his countrey, lyke as he shall retourne a sorrowful man, so shall the realme have lost the fruition of such a one, as for his wysdome, joyned with learning, vertue and godlynes, all the world seeketh and adoureth. In whome it is to bee thought, that God hath chosen a speciall place of habitation. Such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities above the ordinary sorte of men. And who soever within the realme lyketh him worst, I wold he might have with him the talke of one half howre: it were a right stony harte, that in a small tyme he could not soften. If it be his fortune to depart, without shewing the experience herof in the realme, his going away shall be, in myne opinion, like the storye of the gospell, of such as dwelt *in regione Gergesenorum*, who uppon a fond feare, desyred Christe, offring himself unto them, *ut discederet a finibus illorum.*

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Thus, most humbly desyring your grace to pardone my bolde and presumptiouse medling in matters passing my capacitye. I commit the same to the tuicion of Almighty Godde.

From Bruxells, the vth
of Octobre 1554.

Your grace's
most humble, faithful,
and obedient subject,
John Masone.

To the queen's most excellent majestie.

Number 30.

A letter of cardinal Pole's to Philip the IId, complaining of the delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England.

Serenissime Rex,

JAM annus est, cum istius regiæ domus fores pulsare cæpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? Atque ego hoc tantum respondeam, me esse qui, ne meo assensu regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me domo et patria expelli, et exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam, non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui et in patriam reditus, et ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque personam referens, qui summi Regis et Pastoris hominum in terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri successor; atque adeo ut non minus verè dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus authoritas et potestas, cum antea in isto regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, postquam non passa est jus regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per summam injuriam est ejecta. Is regias per me fores jampridem pulsat, et tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt

sane, et quidem non minore cum admiratione divinæ potentiæ et benignitatis erga ecclesiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Apostolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, et pro quo ecclesia assidue precabatur è carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei cæterisque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri authoritatem potestatemq; in isto regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano imperio conjectos, et crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin etiam successorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus sublata in quibus precationes ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem memoriam Petri autoritatis à Christo traditæ penitus ex animis hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut non maximè admirentur hoc divinæ benignitatis et potentiæ pignus ac testimonium: Petrum nunc quasi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsantem stare, et cum hoc maximè mirandum est, tum illud non minus mirum, à Maria regina domum hanc teneri: sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ scriptum est, eam Petri voce audita præ nimio gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitasse: rem prius, ut Mariæ aliisq; qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitassent, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neq; illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo et regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad regiam ejus domum intercludebat: scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; neq; enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid im-

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additum est alterum hoc præclarum fidei defensoris cognomen, quo reges Angliæ apostolica Petri autoritate sunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium principum ad te legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur, solum successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio regni divina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace et gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Christi hac in re metuenda esset offensio, quod ejus legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri homines qui multo post venerunt, nulla interposita mora, introducti auditiq; sint et honorifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi legati à Christi vicario missi, nobis vestroq; regno impendet, reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad majestatem tuam scriberem; quod officium cum tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, distulisti Christum tuum. Is autem Christum differt, qui legatum missum, ab ejus vicario, ad requirendam obedientiam ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu princeps, si cum accercitus fueris, ut pro munere regio viam ad hanc divinam obedientiam in tuo isto regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

Number 31.

The lord Paget's and the lord Hastings's letter concerning cardinal Pole. An original.

Paper-Office.

It maie please your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that arriving here upon Sunday last in the forenoone, we had audience of the emperor's majestie in the afternoone, notwithstanding that the same had that daie received the

RT II. blessed sacrament, wherby we noted a great care in him, for the expedicion of us hence again: after dew commendation made unto him by us, on your majesties behalfe, and the causes of our comyng declared unto him with suche circumstances, as by the tenure of our instructions, we have in charge to open unto him, he rejoyced verey much to here the same; and first giving unto you both most harty thanks for your commendations, and then inquiering very diligently of your good prosperities and wellfares, and specially (madame) of the state of your majesties persone, he roused himself with a merry chere, and said, that among many great benefits, for the which he thought himself most bounden unto God, this was one of the greatest, that it had pleased him to hold his blessed hand over that realme; and so taking occasion to reherse in what good estate and great reputation he knew the realme of England had bene in the beginning; and afterward into what calamities the same fell into, much (he said) to his regret; he gave God thanks, not only for the great miracles, which he had shewed upon your majestie to make you his apt minister for the restoring of that kingdome to the auncient dignite, welth, and renowne, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so sone, so certaine a hope of succession; wherof like as he hathe cause for his parte (he said) to rejoyce and take great comforte, so hath all England greater cause to think themselfs most bounden unto God, to please him, and to serve him for the same: these tydings, he said, of the state of your majesties persone (madame) with the reaport that we had made unto him of the great conformite, and hole consent of the noble men, and others in their proceedings before your majesties, touching the receiving of my lord cardinal into England, and their earnest submissions to the obedience and union of the catholique church, were so pleasant unto him, as if he had been half deade, yet they shuld have been ynoughe to have revived him again. These and many other suche like wordes he used to declare the joy and contentment of his minde, for the good successe of this matter. In the mayning whereof there, if any thing (said he) shuld fortune,

ıerin his advise might be thought requisite, your majesties uld not onley find the same ready, but also in any other ıng that laie in him, which might serve to your honors, d the benefite of the realme: to this when we for our rts had joined such talk as to this purpose semed to our or witts convenient, declaring your godly dispositiones in is mater, how much you reposed your selfs upon his great sdome and experience, what confidence you had in his herly love and friendly affections towards your majesties, d the benefite of your realms; we toke our leaves of his ajestie, and repaired furthwith unto my lord cardinal, ıose gladnes of our comyng we shall not need with many ords to declare unto your majestie; nor yet what speech used to set furth, how much he was bounden unto your ajesties for your gracious dispositions towards him, and w much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, r the bending of your harts this waies, for your majesties all and maie perceive the same more plainly by himself at s comyng unto your presence. This under your majesties rrections we maie be bold to write unto you, that we be- ve verely that whensoever he shall be in England, the me shall fare the better for him, for he is the man of God, ll of all godlines and vertue, ready to humble himself to l facions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, t only to come into England in such sort as your majesties ve appointed, not as a legate, but as a cardinal, and am- ssador to your majesties, but in any other sort whatsoever be, that your majesties will apoint; he assuring your ma- sties, that touching the matter of possessions, all things all come to passe, on the pope's behalfe, in such sort as ery man there shall have cause to be contented. Yester- y night he toke his leave of the emperor, and so did we so. This daie he repaireth onwards his journey, to an ab- ye two miles hence, whither he hath used much to resorte e tyme of his abode here. To morrow at night to Den- rmount; Thursday to Gawnte; Friday to Bruges; Sa- rday to Newport; Sunday to Dunkirke; Monday to Ca- e; (for his weake body can make no great journies) and

PART III. his estate also is to be considered. In this journey we shall not faile to do him all the honour and service we can, aswell for that we take it to be our special charge, as for that also his great vertues have wonne us, and bind us to the same: we have written now, besides our speaking at our passing by, to the lord depute of Calice, for all things to be in a redines for his transportation; so as we trust we shall not have occasion to tarry long there. And thus we beseeche Almighty God to preserve both your majesties long, and long to live together to your own good contentments, and to the great comfort and benefit of us your poor subjects. From Bruxells the 13th of November in the morning, 1554.

Your majesties
most humble, faithful,
and obedient servants,
William Paget.
Edw. Hastings.

To the king and queen's majesties.

Number 32.

An original letter of Mason's, of a preacher that pressed the restitution of church-lands.

perfice. AFTER most hartie commendations, I have sent to my lords at this present the emperor's commissaries answere made at the diett, to a letter lately sent from the French king to the said diett, of the circulls of Germanye assembled at Francfort. And forasmuche as yt chanced me at the closing up of my lettre, to have the sight of an other answer made to the saied lettre, by some bearing good will to the emperor's affaires, I thought good to coppye it, and to send it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, yt may appere yt was made by some man, rather to assaye his witte, and to declare his affection, then of intent to answere perticulerly the matier. It was this morning told me, by one of the emperor's counsell, who misliked muche the matier, that a preacher of ours, whose name he rehersed, betithe the pulpet jolyly in England, for the restitution of abbaye lands. If it be so

neant by the prince, and be thought convenient so to be, hen doth he his duetie; but yf contrarely, yt be neither neant nor thought convenient, it is a strange thing in a well ordered commonwelth, that a subject shall be so hardie to ryve unto the people openly such learning, as wherby your vinter works maye in the somer be attempted with some torme. And wer the thing fitt to be talked of, yet were he princes and the counsell, who might remedy it, meter to e spoken with therin, then the multitude, who therby may eceyve an yll impression, and an occasion of lewd thinking, nd lewde talking, and lewd doing also, if it may lye in their owers; and that is all, that of sowing thies maters amongs hem can ensue. These unbridled preachings were so much o be misliked in the yll governed tyme, as good men trusted, n this good governance, it should have been amended. And o maye it be, when it shall please my lords of the counsell s diligently to consyder it, as it is more then necessarie to e loked unto. The partye, me thinketh, might well be ut to silence, if he were asked, How, being a monk, and aving professed and vowed solemply wilfull poverty, he an with conscience keep a deanery, and three or four bene-ices? I heare, by the report of other ambassadors here, of the eturn of the realme to the unitie of Christen church, wherof ll good men have much cause to rejoyse. I would have been lad to have been able, at the least, to have confyrmed the ews by some certaine knowledge: but being the ordenarye f ambassadors of England, to knowe least of all others of he matiers of the realm, I must content my self; trusting hat, as I am enformed, the ambassador ther hath lost his ame: for that it is not thought necessarie the father to ave an ambassador to the sonne, so shall with tyme, this ffice on this side being no more needfull then it is, be dis-harged also. Or if myne abode shall be longer, then wold att lesure be a suter to you, to be a mean for besure to ome over for three weeks, or a month, to see the king's ighnes, and to doe his majesty my duty, and so to re-urn. I mean no haste, but as matter and occasion may erve hereafter. Thus I committ you to the keeping of

BOOK V.

PART III. Almighty God. At Brussels, the 12th day of December 1554.

Your most assuredly
John Masone.

To the right honourable sir Wm. Peter, kt. king and queen's principal secretarye.

Number 33.

Cardinal Pole's commission to the bishops, to reconcile all in their dioceses to the church of Rome.

reg. wic. 58. b. REGINALDUS, miseratione divina, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedim sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, cardinalis Polus, nuncupatus sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam, Angliæ reges, et universum Angliæ regnum, de latere legatus. Venerabili, ac nobis in Christo dilecto, episcopo Norwicensi, seu ejus in spiritualibus [vicario] generali, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum sanctissimus in Christo pater dominus noster, dominus Julius, divina providentia papa tertius, inter alias facultates, pro hujus regni, omniumque personarum in eo existentium, sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ reconciliationem faciendam necessarias, nobis in nostra hac legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulgerit, ut quoscunque in hæresium et schismatis errores lapsos, ab iis, et à quibuscunque censuris et pœnis propterea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contracta dispensare, et alia multa ad hæc necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna facere. Et hoc idem munus catholicis locorum ordinariis, et aliis personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et literarum scientia præditis, demandare possumus; prout in ejus literis, tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis expeditis plenius continetur. Cumque Dei benignitate, et serenissimorum regum pietate, regnum hoc universaliter, et omnes domini, spirituales et temporales, aliæque personæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum est, parliamento congregato singulariter primo: et deinde universum corpus cleri provin-

ciæ Cantuariens', et omnes ferè personæ singulæ dictum corpus representantes, coram nobis existen', aliæque pleræque fuerint sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ, per nos ipsos reconciliatæ. Speramusque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant; difficileque, et potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa multitudo per nos ipsos reconcilietur. Ideo vices nostras, in hoc, locorum ordinariis, et aliis personis ut supra qualificatis, delegandas duximus: circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus probitate, et charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, auctoritate apostolica, nobis, per literas ejusdem sanctissimi domini nostri papæ concessa, et per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes et singulas utriusque sexus, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas, seculares, et quorumve ordinum regulares vestræ civitatis et dioces' personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque status et qualitatis existant, etiam si capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas fuerit, quarumvis hæresum aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, aut fautores eorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes; et ad orthodoxam fidem recepi humiliter postulan' cognita in ipsis, vera, et non ficta, aut simulata * potentia, ab omnibus et singulis hæresum, schismatis, et ab orthodoxa fide, apostasiarum et blasphemiarum, et aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum; etiam sub generali sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; de quibus tamen jam inquisiti, vel accusati, seu condemnati non fuerint, et quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus, censuris et pœnis, in eas præmissorum et infrascriptorum occasione, à jure vel ab homine latis vel promulgatis; etiam si in eis pluribus annis insorduerint, et earum absolutio, dictæ sedi etiam per literas in cœna Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat in utroque conscientiæ, scilicet et contentioso foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti, vel accusati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro conscientiæ, tantum plenariè absolventur et liberentur. Necnon cum eis super irregularitate, per eos præmissorum occasione con-

* L. pœnitentia.

RT I. tracta, etiam quia sic ligati, missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta quoque irregularitate, et aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis ordinibus, etiam ab hæreticis et schismaticis episcopis, etiam minus ritè, dummodo in eorum collatione, ecclesiæ forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum susceptione; etiamsi juramentum contra papatum Romanum præstiterint; etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque; etiam curata invicem tamen se compatientia, beneficia secularia vel regularia, dignitatibus in collegiatis, ecclesiis principalibus, et in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis post pontificalem, majoribus exceptis; etiam à schismaticis episcopis, seu aliis collatoribus; etiam laicalis pietatis prætextu habita, auctoritate apostolica retinere, dummodo alteri jus quæsitum non sit, et non promotos ad omnes etiam sacros, et presbiteratus ordines, à suis ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint, ritè et legitimè promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica etiam curata, si eis alias canonicè conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, ministrorum defectu, et ecclesiæ necessitatibus, utilitatibusque ita poscen' dispensand' et indulgend' ac omnem inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam, ex præmiss' quomodolibet insurgen' penitus et omnino abolend'. Necnon in pristinum, et eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum ita ut omnibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, favoribus et indultis, quibus cæteri Christi fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti et gaudere valeant, in omnibus, et per omnia; perinde ac si à fide catholica in aliquo nunquam defecissent, restituend' et reponend' et redintegrand', et eis, dummodo corde contriti, sua errata et excessus, circumspectioni vestræ, alicui alteri per eos eligend', catholico confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur; et peniten' salutare eis præmiss' injungend' omnino adimpleatur: omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem et pœnitentiam, jure debit' arbitrio vestro moderan', vel in tot' remitten'. Necnon quoscunque regulares et religiosos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque sedis

a.

licæ licentia, errantes ab apostasiæ reatu et excom-
ıtionis, aliisque censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos
rea, etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incurs', in-
eis pro modocula, pœnitentia salutari pariter absol-
et super quacunq; irregularitate propterea, per eos
:ta, ac cum eis ut alicui curato benefic' de illud obtinen'
su, etiam in habitu clerici secularis, habitur' suum re-
m sub honesta toga presbiteri secularis deferen', deser-
t extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum
m, liberè et licitè possunt, eadem auctoritate aposto-
› defectum ministrorum, et alias prædictas causas, dis-
ıdi. Ac quoscunque quum in sacris ordinibus consti-
ıatrimonia etiam cum viduis et corruptis mulieribus
:' contraxerint, postquam mulieres sic copulat' rejece-
lisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus, et ex-
ınicationis sententia imposit', eis pro modo culpæ,
:ntia salutari, in forma ecclesiæ consueta absolvend':
ı eis, postquam pœnitentiam peregerint, et continen-
laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super bigamia
rea per eos contract'; ita ut ea non obstan', in qui-
susceptis et suscipiendis ordinibus; etiam in altaris
:rio ministrare, ac alicui beneficio ecclesiastico, de
btinentis consensu, deservire; et extra tamen diocesin,
fuit copulatus eisdem de caus' dispensand'. Necnon
ıialium ecclesiarum tuæ dioces' rectores sive curatos,
›rum fide, probitate, circumspection' ac charitatis zelo,
fiducia conspici possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque
suæ parochiæ personarum laicarum, tantum abso-
:m, et ecclesiæ catholicæ reconciliationem, ut præ-
auctoritate apostolica, faciendam. Et si qui ex
ı prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum de-
ı alias idoneas et sufficientes personas, qui eorum vices
ant nominand' et deputand' quas sic per eas nominat'
utat' in locum nostrum in remissionibus, absolutioni-
: reconciliationibus substituimus eiisque vices nostras
egamus: plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica no-
præmittitur concessa, tenore presentium concedimus
ıtem: vosque in præmissis omnibusque in nostrum

PART III.

locum substituimus præmissis ac regula de insordesen' et ordinationibus apostolicis, et omnibus illis, quæ in literis prædictis sanctitas sua voluit, non obstare, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque presentibus in præteritis casibus locum haben' et ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis. Dat' Lambeth' prope Londin' Winton' dioc' anno à nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquegesimo quinto quarto calen' Februarii pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Julii divina providentia papa tertii anno quinto regni.

Car^lis. Polus, leg.
M. Antonius Faita, secr.

Number 34.

Articles of such things as be to be put in execution.

E libro memorandorum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, et Jo. Parkhurst, ep. Norvic. in reg. prin. R. P. dom. ep. Norvic. F. 56.

1. THE divorce of married priests according to the canons.

2. The restitution of them by penitence, thereupon to recommende them to other diocesses as penitents.

3. To certifie the exhilitie of benefices, which for want of livings have noo curats.

4. To certifie the counsaill of as maney as they know to have taken into their hands the goods of the church.

5. To certifie what chauncells of benefices impropered* by some decaye, as they need present reparacion; and to signifie therwith in whome the fault is.

* L. be so in.

6. Not to confirme aney lease of aneye benefice, to the prejudice of the successor.

7. To cause the churches decay'd with vacant fruits and goods, ministred with what remaineth in the executors names.

8. To interrupt them that eat flesh by pretence of dispensacion granted by the princes.

9. To appoint suche as dwell in scites of monasteries, to repaire to some churche for to hear the servyce.

10. To keep the registre for buryeinge, christininge, and marriage.

11. A fourme of sute for layemen to receyve their tythe in spiritual courts. BOOK V.

Instructions given by the cardinal to the bishops, and their officials.

SINGULI domini episcopi, necnon officiales ecclesiarum quæ nunc vacant pro exequutione eorum quæ à reverendissimo domino legato sunt eis demandata ordinem quam infrascript' est, poterint observare. F. 55. 6.

Primum vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli presunt clerum, de hiis quæ sequuntur, instruere procurabunt.

De paterno amore et charitate quam sanctissimus dominus noster Julius papa tertius erga nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit serenissimam Mariam fuisse reginam declaratam reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum cardinalem Polum de suo latere ad has partes legatum misit ut regnum hoc tot jam annos ab ecclesia catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errorem lapsos consolari atque in Dei gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem domini legati adventu, quanta lætitia et honore is exceptus fuerit tum à serenissimis regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in proximo parliamento acta et conclusa sunt. Scilicet de omnibus dominis de parliamento et universo regno à schismate et censuris incursis absolutis et ecclesiæ catholicæ, reconciliatis: de omnibus legibus quæ contra authoritatem sedis apostolicæ et Romani pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum et Edvardum Sextum latæ et promulgatæ, revocatis et abolitis. De restituta sanctissimo domino nostro papæ et ecclesiæ Romanæ eadem obedientia quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum schisma prestabatur.

DE AUCTORITATE episcopis restituta et maximè ut possint contra hereticos et schismaticos procedere, et eos juxta canonicas sanctiones coercere et punire: hiis ita expositis veniant ad facultates sibi ab eodem reverendissimo D. legato concessas, quæ recitentur, et hic omnes qui in schismata vel F. 57. a.

ART III. alios errores lapsi sunt inviteutur ad absolutionem et reconciliationem humiliter et ex toto corde petendam. Necnon dispensationes tam super ordinibus quam super beneficiis necessarias et opportunas postulandas; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de clero humiles et penitentes compareant ad petendum suppliciter absolutionem, reconciliationem et dispensationes prædictas: secundum vero dominium episcopi postquam illi omnibus erroribus suis renunciaverint et promiserit sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri sacerdoti catholico confessuros esse errores suos penitentiam sibi injungendam adimpleturos eos absolvent, et ecclesiæ reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis juxta formam facultatum perpetendum necessitatibus prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et hereses inciderunt, et eos qui ea etiam publicè docuerunt et alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

Eodem die constituetur dies festus et solemnis in quo astante in ecclesia populi multitudine domini episcopi omnes curati ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ clero jam exposit' fuerunt populo quoq; insinuabunt et omnes invitabunt paterne et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad ecclesiæ catholicæ gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus preterita crimina omnia condonentur et remittantur modo eos ex animo illorum peniteat, et illis renuncient. Prefigatur autem terminus, ut pote tota paschatis octava, infra terminum omnes ecclesiæ reconcilientur alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos et eos qui post reconciliationem ad vomitum aversi fuerint severissime procedetur, dicatur etiam de facultate concessa à reverendissimo domino legato episcopis, et aliis ut absolvere possint, omnes quicunq; ad vos reversi fuerint.

Idem domini episcopi et officiales nominabunt et deputabunt, ecclesiarum parochialium rectores seu alias personas idoneas, quæ laicos ab heresi, schismate, et quibuscunq; censuris absolvant juxta facultatum formam et tenorem. Data per episcopos formula qua in absolutione et reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum clero totius dioces' observari prout commodius visum fuerit. Domini episcopi et officiales præfati, necnon omnes curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant libruṁ in quo nomen et cognomen parochianorum reconciliatorum inscribantur: et postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati et qui non.

Idem domini episcopi et officiales octava paschatis elapsa poterint facere visitationem cavitatis primo, deinde dioc' et se qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, et cognoscere propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, et si in eis obstinate perseverarint, tum con' eos procedent.

In hac secunda visitatione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maximè faciant ut omnes ecclesiasticæ personæ ostendant titulos suorum ordinum et beneficiorum, et si in eis aliquis alius defectus insit illis, provideant et omni studio procurent ut errores quibus dioceses eorum sint infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum in confessionibus doceatur: deputando personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas. Id et curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur et nomen Divi Thomæ martyris necnon sanctissimi domini nostri papa ex libris dispunctum in illis restituatur et pro eo secundum morem ecclesiæ ut ante schisma fiebat oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum et infelicitatis preteritorum temporum et magnæ gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua misericordia populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum, et infinitas gratias divinæ ipsius bonitate assiduè agendum.

Hortandi et sunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro salute et felici statu horum serenissimorum et de hoc regno optimè meritorum et merentium regum et specialiter pro felici statu serenissimæ et piissimæ reginæ.

Faithfully transcribed from the old book aforementioned, with which collated by

Thom. Tanner.

PART III.

Number 35.

The process and condemnation of bishop Hooper, and the order given for his execution.

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper super articulos hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

ACTA die Lunæ XXVIII *die Januarii anno Domini in sequendo computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* MCCCCCLIIII *in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Salvatoris in burgo de Southwarke Winton' dioc' coram reverendo patre domino Stephano permissione divina Winton' episcopo, &c. Auctoritate sua ordinaria illic judicialiter seden' assisten' sibi reverend' in Christi patribus episcopis, &c. In presentia nostra Antonii Huscy, Roberti Johnson, et Willielmi Day, Notoriorum, &c.*

icium nini itra Jo- anem oper.

Quibus die et loco productus fuit in judicium Joannes Hooper clericus de et super hæretica pravitate, publicè et notoriè infamatus: cui dictus reverendus pater palam proposuit, quod cum ipse superiori die coram eodem reverendo patre et nonnullis aliis à privato consilio dominorum regis et reginæ ad hoc specialiter destinatis evocabatur et exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoscens transactæ vitæ suæ et perversæ doctrinæ errores et hereses, rediret cum cæteris ad unitatem ecclesiæ: oblataque fuerat ei sic volenti preteritorum erratorum et facinorum suorum condonacio. Ipseq; Johannes tunc indurato animo sic redire renuerit. Propterea in presentiarum in publicum justitiæ forum ad respondendum articulis heretica pravitate concernen' coram eodem reverendo patre auctoritate sua ordinaria sedente evocatus fuit. Offerens preterea publice tunc et ibidem quod si adhuc se reconsiliare vellet, libenter in gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ reciperetur. Et ipse Johannes Hooper non solum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas blasphemias impudenter perrupit. Et deinde dominus episcopus, &c. inter cæteros complures articulos, et capita, hos sequentes eidem Johanni Hooper specialiter objecit.

In primis, Quod tu Johannes Hooper, existens presbyter et religiosus, regula à jure approbata expressè professus,

quandam mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuisti, in uxorem, sive conjugem accepisti; et cum illa, tanquam uxore et conjuge tua, cohabitâsti in nephariis et illicitis cum ea amplexibus cohabitando, matrimoniaq; pretensa hujusmodi licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, tam infra dioc' Winton', quam alias quamplures dioc' hujus regni Angliæ, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, librisq; editis publicâsti et defendisti, et sic asseris et credis in præsenti. Et ministramus conjunctim, et de quolibet.

Ad quem quidem articulum respondet et fatetur, se presbiterum et religiosum professum, quandam mulierem in uxorem legitimè accepisse, et cum eadem tanquam cum uxore legitima cohabitâsse: et quod hujusmodi matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, asseruit, prædicavit, docuit, et libris editis publicavit et defendit; sicq; asserit, credit, et defendere paratus est in præsenti, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod tu Johannes Hooper, in locis prædictis, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, et libris editis publicâsti et defendisti; sicq; credis, tenes, asseris et defendis, quod propter culpam fornicationis, sive adulterii commissam, personæ legitimè conjungatæ, possunt ex verbo Dei, ejusq; auctoritate ac ministerio ab invicem pro adulterio à vinculo matrimonii seperari et divorciari: sicq; licebit viro aliam accipere in uxorem; et mulieri similiter, alium accipere in maritum.

Ad quem quidem articulum respondit affirmativè, quodque paratus est defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes adversarios, esse vera, de jure divino et humano.

Tertio, Quod tu, locis prædictis asseruisti, tenuisti, publicâsti, libris edictis docuisti et defendisti; sicque credis, asseris, tenes, et defendis in præsenti, quod in Eucharistia, sive sacramento altaris, verum et naturale Christi corpus, et verus et naturalis Christi sanguis, sub speciebus panis et vini verè non est: et quod ibi est materialis panis, et materiale vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentia corporis et sanguinis Christi.

Ad quem quidem articulum, sub hoc contemptu verbo-

T rum, respondit; viz. *That the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar: saying also, That the mass is the iniquity of the Devil; and that the mass is an idol.*

Præmissis expeditis, dominus assignavit eidem Johanni Hooper, ad comperendum in hoc loco crastina die, inter horas 8m et 9m ante meridiem, ad videnḍ ulteriorem processum, &c. Quibus die et loco, inter horas assignatas, coram dicto reverendo patre, Winton' episcopo, &c. assistentibus sibi reverendis patribus, &c. in nostra notariorum prædictorum præsentia, rursus comperuit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem dominus episcopus Wintoniensis, multis rationibus, ad sese reconciliandum, suasit et exhortavit: dictus tamen Johannes Hooper, in pertinacia et malicia sua perseverans, perrupit in blasphemias, dicendo etiam publicè, *That matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven-score sacraments.* Deinde dominus episcopus, perspecta ejus pertinaci duritia, tandem tulit contra eum sententiam definitivam, in scriptis condempnando eum pro hæretico et excommunicato: et consequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit curiæ seculari, atq; in manus Davidis Woodroff, et Willielmi Chester, vicecomit' civitatis Londini; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc secum abduxerunt. Super cujus sententiæ prolatione et lectura, idem reverendus pater requisivit nos notarios, &c. ad conficiendum instrumentum, testesq; subscript' ad perhibendum testimonium, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem nobilibus et egregiis viris, &c. et aliis quampluribus, in multitudine copiosa tunc ibidem congregatis, &c.

Faithfully transcribed from a folio book of proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, collected in queen Mary's, or the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, by Anthony Style, notary publick; now in the hands of

Thom. Tanner.

Number 36.

The queen's letter, ordering the manner of Hooper's execution.

1 lib. E. 5 RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, &c. Whereas John Hoo-

per, who of late was called bushop of Worcester and Glou- BOOK
cester, is, by due order of the lawes ecclesiastique, condemp- V.
ned and judged for a moste obstinate, false, detestable heretique, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the holsome and good lawes of our realme in that case provided. Forasmuche as in those cityes, and the diocesse therof, he hath in tymes paste preached and taught most pestilent heresyes and doctryne to our subjects there: we have therefore geven order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was gracyously offred, shall be put to execution in the sayd cytie of Gloucester, for the example and terror of suche as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and bycause he hath doone moste harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you some of reputation dwelling in the shire, such as ye thinke best, shall repayre unto our said cytye, and be at the said execution, assisting our mayor and shriefs of the same cytie in this behalf. And forasmuche also as the said Hooper is, as heretiques be, a vain-glorious person, and delyteth in his tongue, and having liberty, may use his sayd tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the myserable opinion that he hath sowen among them: our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the tyme of his execution, nor in goyng to the place therof, suffred to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in sylence, for eschuyng of further infection, and such inconvenyence, as may otherwise ensue in this parte. Whereof fayle not, as ye tender our pleasure.

A true copy of an old paper in my custody, which seems to be the first draught of a letter from the queen to the lord Chandois, &c. who went to see execution done on bishop Hooper. Thom. Tanner.

Number 37.

A letter of bishop Hooper's to Bullinger, written out of prison.

Hoperus Bullingero.

GRATIAM et pacem à Domino. Literas tuas, compater Paper-Office.

PART III.

charissime, datas Tigur' 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi perjucundæ, quia plenæ consolationis. Ex quibus, animum, amorem, et pietatem tuam erga me pristinam, facilè intellexi. Habeo tibi gratias immortales, quod hisce temporibus difficillimis, nostri non te capit oblivio: semper te, ob eximias tuas virtutes, et præclara Dei in te dona, præ cæteris amavi. Et quod à me, uti scribis, hactenus per annum integrum nullas acceperis literas; hoc accedit, non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseras accepi, sed vel in curia tabellarii periere, vel invidia malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit et literis et libello domini Theodori. Nam de concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi, usque ad aliquot dies post mortem sanctissimi regis nostri Edwardi. Et id quidem in confinibus Valliæ, in bibliotheca pii cujusdam viri, quem ecclesiis quibusdam decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus concaptivis meis fratribus, legendas curabo mitti. Incolumitatem et constantiam vestræ ecclesiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor: et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam, contra tyrannidem Antichristi semper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, sanatum est; et pro capite ecclesiæ denuò habetur, qui membrum ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis, res nostras, et statum reipublicæ intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per sesquiannium fermè. Indies hostes evangelii magis ac magis negotium facessunt. In carcere seorsim servamur, et omni ignominiarum fastidio afficimur: mortem quotidie minitantur; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum et flammas, in Christo Jesu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus; et certi sumus, quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus; faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris literis tuis uxorem meam, modestissimam et piam mulierem consolari; et exhortari, ut studiosè liberos nostros Rachelem filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adolescen-

tulam, ac filium Danielem piè educat, in cognitione et timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ pietati jam mitto duos libellos legendos, judicandos, ac corrigendos, si quæ occurrant, verbo Dei parum convenientia: cui titulum feci, *Hyperaspismus de vera Doctrina et Usu Cœnæ Domini;* quem senatui Angliæ dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publicè, in curia parliamenti, adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri titulum feci, *Syntagma, de falsa Religione dignoscenda et fugienda.* Et rogo, ut quam citissimè fieri possit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios et doctos, uterque liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas literas alias ad episcopos, ut libros in parliamento promoverent, et illos imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam iniquè et injustè nobiscum agitur. Non opus est, ut multa hac de re scribas: ex ipsis libellis et literis, facilè intelliges quid volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus libris impediatur imprimendis; rogo, ut Basileam mittat, ad D. Operinum, qui valdè castè imprimit, et omnia nitidè in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modò libelli tuis literis ad se veniunt commendati: quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi propter libellos atrocius et severius hostes evangelii sævient: habeo salutis meæ fidelissimum custodem, et propugnatorem, Patrem nostrum cælestem, per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi: illius fidei ac tutelæ meipsum commendo; si dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut sint ad gloriam nominis sui; sin huic brevi et flagitiosæ vitæ finem voluit, æque duco, Fiat voluntas illius. Quia furtim scribo, breviores et perturbatiores literas tuæ præstantiæ facio, quas boni consule quæso. Raptim ex carcere XI Decembris 1554. Saluta officiosè castam tuam conjugem, cum tota tua familia, domi et foris, ac alios omnes ut nostri

Tuæ præstantiæ ut debeo studiosissimus

J. Hooperus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Præstantissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero, compatri suo longè charissimo Tiguri.

PART III.

Number 38.

A letter of Mason's concerning a treaty began with France, and of the affairs of the empire.

AFTER my hearty commendations. Your last was of the XXIIId of the last month, and my last to you wer of the VIIth of this present. By these you shall understand that the emperor hath appointed monsieur de l' Allain, governor of Hennalt; monsieur de Boningcourt, governor of Arthoys; the bishop of Arras; the president of the counsel here, named Viglius; and the president of the counsel of Mallynes; to resort to Gravelynghe, for the tretynge of a peaxe with soch others may lyke the Frenche kynge to send to Ardres; wherof the connestable, and the cardinal of Lorrayne, he hath alredye appointed. But by reason of the death of the pope, I thinke the cardinal of Lorrayne goeth an other way. In whose place ys to be thought some other shall be appointed, with the others, to answer to the numbre assigned by the emperor. The cardynal, and my lord chawncelor came out of hand to Callais to be mediator on the queen's behalf, to bring these princes, yf their will be, to some composition. O Lorde assist them so with his grace, as Christendome may have a treattyng tyme. The IVth of this month the king and queen went to Hampton-Court to keep their Easter; wheather Easter done they retorne to London, or goo to Wyndesor, the certentye ys not yet knowen. Bolls of Cambridgeshire, and sir Peter Mewtas, remayne still in prison. The first in the Tower, and thother in the Flete, and lytle words made of them; so yt is thoght the suspition was more vehement then founde to be of any grete ground. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster have laid sore lawe to defend th' alteration of the church into an abbay; in which matter, Dr. Cole sheweth hymself very stowte, alleging that monks have no institution of Christ, wherein prestis have the advantage of them, &c. What thende will be, yt is not known; but yt is feared they shall be put to chose, whether they will depart with their wills or against their wills.

The emperor hath by reason of his long unseasonable cold,

ben very ill handled of his gowte, whereof he is now indifferently well amended.

The princes of Almayne do moche myslyke the arryving of cardinal Moron at Augusta; for the satisfaction of whom, the emperor hath given full auctoryte to the kynge his brother, as so ys the cardinal lyke to retayne, *con la picca in sacco*. The duke of Alva ys not yet departed owt of England; neither yet in the way, so far as I can yet here, albeit his baggage, and a good number of his company are arrived at Callais. On Tuesday last, the ambassadors, or agents, name them as you will, of Cremona, Novaria, and Lodi, passing between Dover and Callais hitherward, wer taken by a French shallop; but it is thought they shall shortly be set at libertye, as well for that they were publycke persons, and not subjects to the emperor, as for that they were taken out of an English vessel. Their money and baggage is saved, whatsoever is become of their persons. Thus for lack of other matter, I bid you most hartely well to fare. From Bruxells the xivth day of April, 1555.

Your own most assuredly,

John Masone.

Endorsed

To the honourable Mr. Petre Vannes, the queen's majesties ambassador at Vennis.

This letter is faithfully transcribed from the original in the hands of

Thom. Tanner.

Number 39.

A translation of Charles the Vth's letters, resigning the crown of Spain to king Philip.

To our counselours, justyces, the nobilyte, curats, knights, and squiers; all kinde of ministers and offycers; and all other our learn'd men within that our town of Tolledo, greeting. By such letters as I have from time to tyme taken order to be wrytten unto you, since my departing Paper-Office.

PART III. out of the kingdome of Spain, you have fully bene advertised of the successes of myne affayres; and namely how that for religion's sake, I enterprised the warre of Almayne, uppon the great desire I had, as reasone was; and according to my bounden dewty to reduce, and to returne agayne those countreys into the unitye of the church, procuring and seeking by all the means I could, to sett peas and quietnes in all the estates of Christendome, and do what might be done for the assembling, and assisting of a general counsale, bothe for the necessarye reformation of many things; and so draw home also therby, with lesse difficultye, such as had separated themselves, and were swerved from the catholike faith of Christ. Which my great desyre having brought, by God's goodnes, to a very good pointe; the French kinge suddenely, without all reasone or any good foundation, alluring to his ayde the Allmaynes, and making a league with them, agaynst theire othes and fydelityes, brake with me, and openned the warre agaynst me, bothe by sea and the land. And not satisfyed herewith, he procured the coming of the Turcques armye, to the notable domage of Christendome; and namely of our estates, and seigneueryes; wherby I was forced and dryven to bring an armye to my no little trouble, aswell by my great payns taken in myne own persone in the felde, as by my traveil otherwise; which thereuppon I was constrayned to endure, in the treating and maynayng of sundry urgent and great matters daylie and contynually falling out upon the same; which were the greate, and in effect the only occasions of the greate and paunefull infirmity and indisposition of my body; which I have since had these yeres passed, and yet have, wherby I find my self so encumbred, and so destitute of healthe, that not onely have I been, or ame able by myne own persone to discharge such a traveil, and to use such a diligence in resolutions, as was requisyte; but have also, which I do confesse, been a lett and an hindrance to sundry things wherof I have had, and now have a greate conscynce. And I wold to God I had sooner taken therin such an order as I now am determyned to take: which nevertheles

for many considerations I could not well doe, in the absence of the high and mighty prince, the king of England and Naples, and my right dear and right well-beloved sonne: for that it was necessary many things to be first communicated unto him, and to be treated with him. And for this purpose, after the marriage put in dew execution with the high and excellent princesse, the queen of England, I lastly took order for his coming hither: and within a short tyme after, I took order to resigne and to renounce unto him, lyke as I have done all those my estates, kingdomes, and seigneueryes, of the crown of Castella and Leon, with all their membres and appertennes, in such sorte as more fully and more amplye is conteyned in such instruments as I have signed and agreed unto of the date of these presents; trusting that with his greate wysedome and experience, wherof I have hitherto had a right greate proofe in all such things as have been passed and handled by him for me, and in my name, he will now for himself, and in his own name, govern, order, defend, and mainteyne the same with peas and justice. And not doubting but that according unto your olde and comendable loyaltye, fayth, love, and obedyence, which you have borne and do beare, both to him and to me; wherof for my parte, I have had always large experyence by your deeds, you will serve him and obey him as apperteyneth to my trust and your duties; for the good-will borne to you so many yeres. Commanding you nevertheles, and straightly charging you that displaying and setting upp banners, and doing all other ceremonies and solemnities requisyte, and which have been accustomed to have been done in like cases, for the dew execution of the purpose above sayed, in the same manner and sorte as yf God had taken me unto his mercy, you doe obey, serve, and honour, from henceforth the saide king, accomplishing his will and pleasure in all such things as he shall by word and writing command you, as you ought to doe to your true and natural lord and king: even as you have and ought to have, during my reigne passed to you from me: wherin besydes that you shall doe your duetyes, and doe that

PART III. as you are bound to doe, you shall doe unto me acceptable pleasure. Given at Brussells the 17th of Januarie, 1556.

Copye of the lettre sent by the emperor to sundry estates in Spaine, upon the resigning of the same unto the king's majestie; turned out of Spanish into English.

Number 40.

A remembrance of those things that your highnes's pleasure was I shold put in writing, as most convenient in my pore judgment, to be commoned and spoken of by your majestie, with your counsell, called to your presence thys afternoone.

Written in the hand of cardinal Pole.

Titus, B.2. 177. FURST of al, that your majestie shold put them yn remembrance of the charge the kyng's highnes gave them at his departure; which beyng reduced to certen articles, and put in writing, it seemeth wel if some of the lords for ther sudden departure after ther charge had not the same in writing, that it were rehersed and given unto them with exhortation to employ al ther diligence for the due execution therof.

And whereas amongst other charges, thys was one, that those that be named in the first parte counsellours, were al to be present in the courte, thys first your highnes may require them that they do observe: specially beside, for the weight of the matters that be now in hand; the tyme besyde being so shorte, after the parliament to examyn them. And that the kyng's plesure ys, as the matters be proposed in the counsell, afore the further execution of them, to be ynformed therof, to knoe his pleasure theryn. And amongst other, hys majestie beyng in expectation to know the uttre resolution of the councell, twichyng those matters that be to be intreatyd in thys parliament. Thys ys that your majestie looketh of them thys day, to send with all spede to the kyng's highnes.

And wheras for the dylation of the kyng's comyng, your

majestie thought it well to put in consulte, whether it were better therfor to make a dilation and prorogation of the parliament to Candelmas, beyng thought bey ther opinion, that for necessite of money that is to be demanded in the parliament, and otherwyse can not be provided, the prorogation of that should be much dispendiose. Your majestie not disalowing ther deliberation; but consydering wyth all the great need of money for to be had, for the discharge of the present necessite, which requyreth present provision of money, as is for the settyng forth of the ships, as wel for the emperor's passage to Spain, as for the king's return.—— And besyde thys, for the payment of that is dew at Calise, as for your credyte wyth the merchants approchyng the day of payment; and for the dett of Ireland also, of al these it may please your majestie to know thys day of your counsell what is don.

And bycause the most ordynarie and just way, touching the provision of money to pay your highnes detts, is to call in your own detts; which charge hath been specially committed afore, and is principally considered and renewed in the writing the kyng's highnes left tuchyng such affayres, that his counsell shold presently attend into, wher be ther names also that same: the charges speciall therfore, your majestie shall do wel this day to charge them with the same; that with all diligence they attend to the prossecution therof, givyng them all autoryte that shal be necessary for them, to make the most spedy expedition theryn. Wylling them withall, that they never let pass one week, but in the end of the same, at the least, your majestie may know specially of that is coming yn, and that order is taken for the rest.

Also yf it pleasyd your majestie in generall, for all matters whych be intreated in the counsell, which requyre commission and execution, to give thys order, that those that have had commission to execute any matter, let never passe the weke, but they ynforme the counsell what execution is made of ther commyssions: and that the counsell themselfs should never begyn entretance of new matters the second week; but that they have information first, what is done in

ART III. those which wer commytted to be executyd the week afore; I think it should help much to the spedy expedition of all causes. Thys ys my poore advyse, remitted al to the godly and prudent judgment of your majestie.

Number 41.

Some directions for the queen's council; left by king Philip.

ton lib. 1s, B. 1. IMPRIMIS, pro meliori et magis expedita deliberatione, in iis quæ in consilio nostro agenda sunt ex reliquis consiliariis nostris; eos, quorum nomina sequuntur, seligendos putavimus; quibus specialem curam omnium causarum status, finantiarum, et aliarum causarum graviorum regni, committendam duximus et committimus.

Legatus cardinalis POLUS, in causis magnis, ubi voluerit, et commodè poterit.

D. Cancellarius. D. Thesaurarius. Comes de Arundell. Comes de Pembroke. Episcopus Eliensis. D. Paget. Mr. Rochester comptroller'. Mr. Petre secretarius.

Consiliarii prædicti omnes et singuli erunt præsentes in aula, et intelligent, et considerabunt omnes causas status, omnes causas financiarum, statum possessionum, debitorum, et quomodo debita cum honore solvi possint; et generaliter, omnes alias causas majoris momenti, tangentes honorem, dignitatem, et statum coronæ.

Et quo melius consilium nobis dare possint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem discordiam, si quæ inter eos sit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè, et in timore Dei, ea in consiliis proponant et dicant, quæ Dei gloriam, nostrum et regni nostri honorem et utilitatem, promovere possint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit occasio, nos adeant, vel aliquos ex se mittant, per quos intelligere possimus deliberationes suas, in omnibus causis quæ coram eis proponentur, et ad minus ter qualibet septimana, referant nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta et deliberata.

Dicti consiliarii deliberabunt de parliamento, quo tempore habendum fit, et quæ in eodem agi et proponi debeant: et

quæ agenda et proponenda videbuntur in parliamento, in scriptis redigi volumus, ante parliamenti initium.

Quod singulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis consiliariis præsentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant specialem curam pro debitorum solutione, diminutione sumptuum, et provida gubernatione et collectione reddituum, terrarum, possessionum et vectigalium, et pro administratione justitiæ.

Number 42.

A letter to the ambassadors, concerning the restitution of Calais.

Paper-Office.

AFTER our right harty commendations to your good lordships, by our last letters of the 4th of this mounth, we signifyed unto you our well lyking of your opinions, to have the matter touching Calleys moved in the parliament: and that we being also of the same mynde our selfs, ment to propose the case there with all the expedition we might, and to make you answer of that sholde be farther resolved therein, as shortly as we could. Sence which tyme, uppon consultation had amongst our selfs, how the matter shold best be opened and used there: and being of opinion, as we have byn from the begyning, that it were not convenient to have the same broken to the hole house, but only to the nobilite, and some other of the best and gravest sort; we thought it allso necessarie, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our opinions unto the queen's majestie, and to understande her highnesses good pleasure and resolution therein. Whose majestie, uppon the opening thereof unto her, thought mete for good respects, we sholde fyrst write unto the king's highnes to such effect, as by the coppie of our letters presently addressed to his majestie for that purpose, (which you shall receyve herewith) you may at better length perceyve; and then understanding his highnes answer, sholde either goe forwarde with our former deliberacion, or otherwyse use the matter as we sholde see cause. Where-

PART III. fore, lyke as we have thought good to give your lordships knowledge by these, so when we shall have receyved the king's majesties answer herein, we will not fayle to signify unto you with diligence what shall be farther resolved touching this matter. And in the mean tyme, we byd your good lordships right hartely well to fare.

The queen's majestie remayneth yet still both sicke and very weake; and although we hope of her highnesses amendment, for the which we daylye pray; yet are we dryven both to feare and mistrust the worst; which we beseche Almighty God to remedye, when it shall lyke hym.

After that we had written the letters inclosed to the king's majestie, we receyved yours of the 4th of this instant; by the which we do understande, that the French commissioners contynue still of the same mind that they were at your meeting with them, not to leave the possession of Callais. By your sayd letters appereth allso, that the king's majestie tolde you, that his commissioners were agreed with the French well nere upon all matters; and that his highnes nevertheless wolde not agree to any conclusion, but that the queen's majestie sholde be fyrst satisfied for the matters of this realme.

After that we had considered the effect of these your letters, considering of what importance the leaving of Callice is for this realm; howe much it wolde touche the honour of their majesties and of this crowne, that so many restitutions being made on bothe sydes, this sholde be suffred to passe unrestored; and fynally, howe yll the subjects of this realme will digest this matter, if there sholde any suche thing be agreed unto; we neither can of our selfs well consyder what to answer, nor think mete to propose it to the parliament, untill we may yet once agayne heare from you. And where policy fayleth, we are compelled to use playnes. You knowe these warres, wherein Calice is lost, began at the king's majesties request, and for his sake. We doe consider, that other his majesties freends and confederats be restored to things taken many yeres past. And what may be judged in this realme, if this peas be concluded, and Calice left in

the French king's hands, so many other restitutions being made, it may be easely considered. On the other syde, his majesties commissioners being so nere an agreement for all other matters, muche were to be indured for the welthe of Christendome.

And it hath byn consideryd here, howe much this realme it travayled and spent allready with these warres.

These things being amongst us considery'd, knowing his majesties gracious disposition and favour towards this realme, we think good your lordships doe plainly open these considerations to hym, in such good sorte as you may think good. And fyrst to desyre to understande his majesties disposition playnely, if you may for Calice: the remayning whereof in the French king's hands doth as much importe for his Lowe Countries as for this realme.

And secondly, that it may please his majesty to gyve us his good advise for our further doings, and manner of proceeding in this matter; wherein albeit our meaning is to use the advise of the rest of our nobilitie and parliament, yet do we stay that to do untill we have answer again from you, and understande his majesties playne and determinate answer therein. And we doe hartely pray your lordshipes to use your accustomed good wisdomes in the good opening of the premisses, and to send us answer as soon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the counsell unto the earle of Arrundell, and the rest of the commissioners beyonde the sees.

Number 43.

A letter of the ambassador's concerning Calais.
An original.

AFTER our right heartie commendacions to your good lordships, by Francisco Thomas the post, we have receyvid two letters from your lordshippes. The first of the 29th of the last month: and the later, of the first of this present. With other letters directed to the king's majestie; upon the

Paper-Office.

ART III. receipt wherof, we having mette together, and consulted upon the contentes of the same, datermyned to open to the kinge's majestie by our letters the matters wherof your lordships wrote unto us; for his majestie is not in these parties heere, but is at Bruxelles, or beyond. The copy of our letter to his majestie in that behalfe we send your lordshipes heerwith. And where your lordshipes wryte unto his majestie, that by our letters doth appeare that the French king by no means will leave the possession of Callais: and that he would rather hazard his crown then to consente to the restitution of it: true it is, that we wrote to your lordshipes, that the French commissioners, yn their conference with us and with the king's commissioners, have ever refused to consent to the restitution of Callais. And that the French have declared to one of the king's commissioners, that the French king for to hazard his crowne will not forgo Callais. And albeit that for because of the good face sett upon that matter by the French commissioners, we somewhat mistrusted, that that which they spoke was the king their maisters determynacion; yet indeed did we not affirm it to be so. No, nor did not then utterlye despayre, but that the French, yf they wer kept somwhat shorte, would at the length relente; for elles to what purpose had it been agreed and appointed, that both the king's and the French king's commissioners shuld retourne to their maisters, to declare what hath been done allready, and to know what their maisters further pleasure was theruppon. And forasmuch as we have ever been of opynion, that yf the king's majestie refuse to conclude any thing with them, without the restitution of Callais; that may the sooner induce the French to agree to it. And likewise yf they perceyve the king's majestie, or his mynisters, not so earnest therin, but that by a bragge of the French; they will the sooner gyve over, and stande the more fayntely for the restitution of it; that will make the French the bolder, and to stand the more earnestlye in their refusal. Therefore we have not thought it meet to use anye kynde of wordes to the king, wherby his majestie might by anye meanes thinke that the queen's high-

nesse, and the realme of England, coude be contente to conclude a peace without the restitution of Callais. Aswell for because our instructions importe that, as allso trustinge that that wold move his majestie and his commissioners to be the more careful for the restitution of it. And seeinge that his majestie and his commissioners have ever sayde, that they will conclude nothing without the queen's highnes be first satisfyed: yt seemed to us, that if her highness and your lordshipes did stande earnestlye in the repetition of Callais: that the French at this time must either forsake Callais or elles the peace. And in case this occasion to redemaunde Callais be now forsloune, God knoweth when ever England shall have the lyke again. And where your lordshipes wryte, that the king's commissioners beeinge so neere to agree with the French upon the hole, much wer to be endured for the wealth of Christendom: it is even so indeede as your lordshipes wryte. Mary that all other shuld have restitution of their owne, and poor England that beganne not the fraye, bear the burthen and the losse for the rest; and specially of such a jewel as Callais is, we feare will seeme verye harde and strange to all the realme. And yet yf the losse of Callais might purchase a sure peace to Christendom, that wer yet some colour why somwhat the rather to agree to it. But yf we may be so bold to saye playnely our myndes unto your lordshipes; we not onely thinke not that, that the leaveing Callais to the French shall purchase Christendom a sure peace; but rather ar persuaded that nothing can more evidentlye shew, that the French entend no peace to contynue, speciallye with England, then the retention of Callais, yf they earnestlye and finallye persist theron. Your lordships do right well understande what advantage the French have to annoy us by Scotland, which now is much ruled by France. And in case any peace be made, then shall the French have good tyme and leasure to establish and order their matters so yn Scotland, specially considdering the mariage of the dolfyn, and the queen of Scotts, is now done; that Scotland shall be every whitte as much at their commandment as any part of France is. And what the French

PART III.

pretend unto by that mariage, is not unknowne to your lordshipes.

If now Callais shall remayn yn their hands too, wherby neither England shall have the commoditie to offende their enemyes, nor to succour their friends, nor lykewyse to receyve succour from their friends at their need, but by very uneasy means: yea, and wherby England shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all things, done both by their enemys and by their freends; or at the least, the knowledge therof shall not come, but so late, that it will searve to litle purpose. And that Callays lyeth so commodyouselye to be a scourge for England, as it was before king Edward the Third took it: which caused him to adventure himself, and his son the prince, to come but with a meane armye from Normandye into France, and thence through all Picardye, to go to beseege Callais: he beinge contynuallye poursewed by his ennemyes with greate armyes, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and fynallye constrained more then once to fight it out, and specially at Crecy, where his enemy's armye was thryse as greate as his, and to lye so longe at the seege before Callais as he did. This scourge of England, so well knowne by experyence then, and therefore so dearly bought by king Edward the IIId, and now not yet known for lacke of experyence; yf the French shall retayne yn their hands, they having likewyse Scotland on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to England, is easy to be consydered. These, and other consyderations, make us to be of opynion, that leaving Callais to the French, they will be content to delyver you a peece of parchemyn sealed with a little wax; but that they meane anye contynuance of peax, we cannot be perswaded, no more then king Francis did by a nombre of peeces of parchment sealed, which he sent to king Henry the VIIIth: nor the French king that now is, did, by the parchemyne sealed, which he sent to king Edward the VIth. And whereas now the king's majestics contreys ar in warre with France as well as England: if the peace be ones made, the French will soon seek occasion to fall out with England againe; and then may it

perhaps chaunce so, that Spaine will not think it necessarye for them to venture yn warre againe with France. Whereas now the kings majestie cannot honorablye, nor entendith not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any peace without us. So that the premisses consydered, we cannot for our parts thinke that Christendom shall be restored to a good peace, though we forsake Callais, but that then we shall be more oppressed with war than before. And in case we must needs have war, as good it seemeth to contynue in it yet for a while, being conjoyned to the king's majestie, who beareth the chief burthen and charges of it; then shortelye after to begynne a new, and to stand in danger to have all the burthen lye on our neckes. And then should we know what a jewell we had forsaken, when we did agree to forgo Callais; and that by the retencion of Callais, the French meant nothing less then the quietnes of Christendom.

We have thought it our dutie to declare to your lordshipes what our opynion is heerin. Which neverthelesse we pray your lordshipes to accepte yn good parte.

I the bishop of Ely retourned to Cercamp, according to the king's majesties appointment; where I have contynued till now that I came hither to consult upon these matters with my colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing ben done yn our matters for England; but the other commissioners have ben busye contynuallye. And as far as I can learn, they are not yett all agreed uppon the matters of Piedmount, nor of Corsica, nor Siena. Yea, and as I heere, the French begyne now to call the matters of Navarre in question; and to ask restitution thereof; yn so much, that some begyne to thinke contrary to that hath ben commonlye thought hitherto; that the ende of this matter will be, that all shall departe, *re infecta.*

After we had written thus farre, I the earle of Arundall, receyved a letter from the bishope of Arras, of the 17th of this present; wherin amonge other things he writeth thus. *Monsieur Levesque de Ely vous aura dit en qu'els termes nous estions a son partement en ce purgatoire. Et hier les*

PART III. *Francois nous declarerent qu'en toutes choses condescendront ils plustot que de venir a ce de Calais: ne qu'il leur eshappe: et nous leur declarasmes derechef au contraire que sans satisfaire a royaume d'Angleterre nous ne traiterons en fucon quelconque avec eux et fut nostre depart sur ce til qu'il y a plus d'apparence de rompre que de conclusion.*

So that by this lykewise it may seme, that they agree not best: but whether that be for Callais onelye, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good lordshipes most hartely well to fare. From Arras the 18th of November, 1558.

Your good lordshipes most assuredly,

Arundell.
Thomas Elye.
N. Wotton.

Number 44.

A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, from Strasburg, of the state of affairs in England.

Scripta (ut videtur) 1558.

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S. P.

k MSS. igur. De prima illa nostra profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. Simlerum nostrum. Quinto postridie vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantoper miseri coacti sumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes, et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique nostri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus. Neque id sanè mirum. Profecti enim Argentina ad vicesimum primum Decembris, vix vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antverpiam, quod Rhenus constrictus glacie, illorum navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, reditum illorum reginæ esse gratissimum; idque illam non obscurè præ se ferre. Si episcopi pergant porro ut cæperunt, erit brevi magna vilitas episcopatuum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum, rabulam illum Cicestrensem, esse mortuum; quod idem de Vatsono quoq; Lincolniensi nunciatur: quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore

episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad populum insanam, et turbulentissimam concionem; omnia potius tentanda esse, quàm ut quicquam de religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accusatus est seditionis à marchione Vintoniensi thesaurario, et Hetho archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis jussus est, reddere hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad causæ dictionem; interim jubetur, se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat concionem ad populum, neve papista, neve minister evangelii. Id alii factum putant, quòd cum unus tantum esset minister verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus esset numerus papistarum. Alii, quòd audita una tantum Benthami publica concione, populus inter se cæperit litigare de ceremoniis: et alii Genevenses esse vellent, alii Francofordiani. Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri homines nimium prudenter et politicè versari velint in causa Dei. Multi putant D. coquum fore magnum cancellarium; hominem bonum quidem, et pium, uti nôsti; sed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de ista præclara pace, si Deo placet, transfigatur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, et diuturna futura sit, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in Angliam. Video enim alios quoque nostros homines, de ea re seriò cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad reginam: erat scripturus ad totum parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ fidei committeretur: ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut sarcinam et pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamq; vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime pater, et plus quam animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliquæ scribere: cui ego viro, pro summa ejus erga me humanitate, debeo

PART III.

omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimùm salutant, et cùm tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quàm Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, et D. Acontius, sunt nunc Argentinæ: uterque te plurimùm salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi literas D. Isabellæ: id obsecro, ut illi significes.

Argentinæ, 26. Januar.

Johannes Juellus ex animo, et semper, tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ professori S. theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.

Number 45.

A letter of Gualter's to Dr. Masters, advising a thorough reformation.

Domino Richardo Mastero, medico regio, amico veteri, et fratri suo dilecto.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

GRATULABAR mihi non parùm, annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto sanctæ memoriæ, tu prior scribendi officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cæpisti. At nunc multò magis et tibi et mihi gratulor, vir doctissime, et frater in Christo observande, quòd ea tempora Angliæ vestræ, per Dei clementiam, reducta esse audimus; quando sub reginæ piissimæ tutela, piis hominibus, Deum verè colendi libertas restituetur, et amicorum literæ tutò hinc inde ferri et referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei sapientiam et bonitatem, qui ecclesiæ suæ ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ regno jam omnes conceperunt,

satisfiat. Quod eò magis futurum puto, si quotquot illic in aliquo dignitatis gradu collocati estis, ecclesiæ et religionis curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis consilia, qui cum papatum nec honestè defendi, nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus religionis forma mixtam, incertam et dubiam fingunt, et eandem, sub evangelicæ reformationis prætextu, ecclesiæ obtrudunt; ex qua deinde facillimus est ad papisticam superstitionem et idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eò scribo, quòd tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania, magno ecclesiarum malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi homines valeant. Eò quod illorum consilia, carnis judicio, modestiæ plena, et ad alendam concordiam, cumprimis idonea esse videantur, et credibile est, publicum illum humanæ salutis hostem, apud vos quoque sua flabella inventurum, quorum opera papatûs semina retinere studeat. Quibus scripturæ sanctæ, et verbi divini armis, constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus; multa ad tempus duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio, et non absque gravissimis tentationibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ ecclesiæ multa viderunt, quorum consideratione edocti, suspecta habemus quæcunque cum syncera verbi doctrina, aliqua ex parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ vestræ, ob veterem consuetudinem, cujus vel sera recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirificè faveo. De rebus nostris certiorem te reddet Parkhurstus, noster frater, et hospes meus dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilii molestias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem fidei constantiam, et patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe læta plenus, in patriam contendit, ut ecclesiæ renascentis causam pro suo talento adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit, cum scripturarum cognitionem habeat præclaram, et veritatis studiosissimus sit, et à contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix

BOOK VI.

ART III. aliquem in ecclesia fructum faciunt. Optimè ergo feceris, si tua authoritate illum juves, et pro virili provehas. Mihi verò nihil jucundius fuerit, quàm si ex tuis literis intelligam, nostræ amicitiæ memoriam penes te adhuc salvam esse, quæ certè in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 16. Januarii 1559.

Number 46.

A letter of the earl of Bedford's to Bullinger, from Venice.

TIT.

Doctissimo viro domino Bullingero, sacræ theologiæ professori eximio Tiguri.

MSS. ur. Cum meus in te amor singularis, et perpetua observantia, quâ te semper religionis causâ sum prosecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis humanitas, multis modis à me perspecta, cùm Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce literas animi erga te, mei pignus certissimum, et veluti tabulas obsignatas mei in te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adolescenti ad te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non sicut homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, et prorsus tibi devinctissimo profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quàm exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque, præsertim etiam cùm adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evadere possint) ut vos obiter invisam in Angliam reversuro. Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis solummodò declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem honoris causâ nomino) quod ut audivi, sanè quam pro eo ac

debui, graviter molestèque tuli, non tam suâ, quam ecclesiæ universæ causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis hominibus promovendis, gloriosissimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in cœlum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: itaque, ut illius causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia facilè mitigabit, quem ecclesiæ, bonisque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per suam misericordiam esse velit. Venet. 6. calend. Maias.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

F. Bedford.

Domino Gesnero, et domino Gualthero, meis amicissimis diligenter à me, quæso, salutem dicito.

Number 47.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, of the state he found matters in when he came to England.

S. P.

TANDEM tamen aliquando, quinquagesimo, videlicet, septimo post die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, pervenimusque in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa προοιμιάζειν, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos istos logos non magni facias? Interea verò, Deum immortalem, quæ illa vita fuit, cùm et aqua, et terra, et cælum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibusque modis reditum nostrum impediret? Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima, et adversissima acciderunt. Verùm hæc antea ad te, et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cùm adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quanquam hic, ut verè dicam, arte opus est et myrothecio: non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, et polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore. Scio tamen à te plurima expectari, quàm quòd recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim ferè omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multò tùm erant

Ex MSS. Tiguri.

PART III. alia, et longè auditu jucundiora, quàm quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus pontifex: nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies: eadem pompa, atq; insolentia episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, et pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento sunt episcopi: qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori conclavi inter primores, et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum hominum, qui illorum fucos, et mendacia possit, coram dicendo refutare, inter homines literarum, et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel numero, vel opinione doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi apertè faveat nostræ causæ, tamen partim à suis, quorum consilio omnia geruntur, partim à legato Philippi comite *Terio* homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirificè deterretur. Illa tamen quamvis lentiùs aliquantò, quàm nos velimus, tamen et prudenter, et fortiter, et piè persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus principia, paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes, est aliquando rectè fore. Interea, ne episcopi nostri queri possint se potentia tantum, et lege esse victos, res revocata est ad disputationem, ut novem ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmer, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, et ego, cum quinque episcopis, abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est: in publicis precibusq; et administratione sacramentorum alia uti lingua, quàm quæ à populo intelligatur, alienum esse à verbo Dei, et à consuetudine primitiva ecclesiæ. Altera est; quamvis ecclesiam provincialem, etiam injussu generalis concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare ceremonias, et ritus ecclesiasticos, sic ubi id videatur facere ad ædificationem. Tertia sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod papistæ fingunt esse in missa, non posse probari ex sacris literis. Pridie calendarum Aprilis instituitur prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi partâ victoriâ, jamdudum magnificè triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus ad nos venit, scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, ter-

tioq; cupidissimè relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito, fore multò gratiorem. Oxonii à tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, et contumacia: religio, et spes omnis literarum, atq; ingeniorum funditùs periit. Brochas episcopus Glocestriensis bestia impurissimæ vitæ, et multò impurioris conscientiæ, paulò antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber tuus præclarus, scilicet, patronus castitatis deprehensus est in adulterio: ex ea causa, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cùm Maria adhuc viveret, novo more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere lectione theologica. Bruernus simili, aut longè flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere professionem linguæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil scribo, ne chartas contaminem. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, commemores? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit B. Cranmerum, P. Ridlæum, P. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de pace, de bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi literas ex itinere: quæ utrumq; ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longè absumus, longiùs, ô Deum immortalem, et diutius multò, quàm vellem, literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ committendæ sunt. Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, et convictores tuos Trevicenses. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. Juellus.

Istæ sunt primæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina domino suo colendissimo.

Tigurii

PART III.

Number 48.

A letter of Juell's to Bullinger, concerning the state of things in the beginning of this reign.

S. P.

MSS. ur. GRATISSIMÆ erant mihi Parkurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatissime vir, vel quòd à te sint, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quod suavitatis, et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vestigia retinerent. Atque utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit; quod nos hortaris, ut strenuè ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantùm non ingratus nobis sed etiam pèhè necessarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis à nobis defecerunt et cum hostibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multò, et contumacius resistunt, quàm ulli hostes, quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, hoc est cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud: ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum. Quanquam, et si molesta nobis est ista tam diuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi rectè fore. Habemus enim reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edwardo rege fuerat, ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque vestræ literas et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli esse attributam Christo: nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos tam fœdè contaminatos esse ab anti-christo ut jam non possint amplius satis piè à quoquam usurpari. Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt, et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis, Hispanus monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus

Martyr pulcherrimè plantaverat, everterunt à radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare et si magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possem in Anglia, tamen non possum esse author hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum aut religionis causâ ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios et barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius qua maximè re tibi, aliisque tuis fratribus, et symmistis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet, sensit, velle se humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat et hospitii causa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego verò nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quàm si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certè facit, quantum potest. Venerunt hodie Londinum legati regis Galliæ, qui gratulantur de pace; princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerimum hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam: sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam: D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantùm operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum et corpus meum. 22. Maii Londini, 1559.

Tui studiosus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo et domino suo colendissimo. *Tiguri.*

PART III.

Number 49.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, concerning the disputation with the papists at Westminster.

Idem ad P. Martyrem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

De illis disputationibus inter nos, et episcopos, quas proximis literis scripsi indictas fuisse in ante calendas Aprilis quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare orationem sine procemio. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur: proximô autem conventu, ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridiè ergò kal. April. cum magna expectatione, majori credo frequentia convenissemus Westmonasterii, episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas: cum tamen habuissent plùs minùs decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxonio et Cantabrigiâ, et undiq; ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen ne tot viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæstione, hoc est, de peregrina lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille verò cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis indignissimè excepisset, et omnium seditionum authores et faces appellâsset, et supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modò dejectione modò sublatione superciliorum, (nôsti enim hominis vultum et modestiam) sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremò evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos annos recepisse evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, preces tum publicas in Anglia habitas, fuisse Anglicè. Postea cùm in illo circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adjecit seriò, et vero vultu, atq; etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent, apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alii orientis ecclesias instituerent, alii occidentis. Itaque Petrum et Paulum, in Romana

ecclesia, quæ totam propè Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, latinè docuisse. Reliquos apostolos in oriente, nullo unquam alio sermone usus fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solenniùs et magistratiùs insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamâsset, *Poh! horson knave.* Verùm ille, inter alia, nihil veritus est, mysteria ipsa et penetralia, atq; adyta prodere religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter et seriò monere, etiamsi alia omnia maximè conveniunt, tamen non expedire, ut populus, quid in sacris ageretur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, mater est veræ pietatis, quam ille appellavit devotionem. O mystica sacra, atque opertanea bonæ deæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cotta pontifice cogitâsse? Hoc videlicet illud est, in spiritu et veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremò nostra pronunciavimus de scripto, ita modestè, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adversarium, postremò ita dimissa est disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo conventu, ne comes quidem Salopiensis, quin victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea inita est ratio, ut proximo die lunæ, de secunda quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurii, nos illorum primi diei argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die lunæ, cum frequens multitudo, ex omni nobilitate cupidissima, audiendi convenisset, episcopi, nescio pudoreve superioris diei, an desperatione victoriæ, primùm tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est à senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse: nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in possessione constitisse: nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu populi, et aculeos orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contrà, Hanc ab initio institutam fuisse ratio-

ART III. nem, ut illi, quòd dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse. Mirari verò se, quid hoc sit mysterii, cùm omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: et præsertim, cum colus in primis disputationibus etiam injussus, ultrò prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremò, cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine disputatione discessum est. Ea verò res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit opinionem populi de episcopis: omnes enim cæperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die, Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, et Vatsonus Lincolniensis, de tam aperto contemptu et contumacia, damnati sunt ad turrim: ibi nunc castrametantur, et ex infirmis præmissis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidiè, præstò esse in aula, et expectare quid de illis senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντευξιν ἀτελῆ et penè ἀνεύτευκτον; quam tamen, quô meliùs rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus, fortasse, quam oportuit. Benè vale, mi pater, decus meum, atque etiam animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum literarum argumentum. Saluta plurimùm, meo nomine, venerandum illum virum, et mihi in Christo dominum colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Wolphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, et Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6. April. 1559. Jo. Juellus tuus.

Post-script

Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, viro doctissimo, et domino suo in Christo colendissimo. *Tiguri.*

Number 50.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, of the debates in the house of lords; and of the state of the universities; and concerning the inclinations to the Smalcaldick League.

S. P.

ACCEPI ternas à te literas, omnes eodem fermè tempore: quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quòd essent à te, vel quòd rerum tuarum statum significarent, et amorem erga me tuum: tamen nullâ aliâ causâ mihi visæ sunt jucundiores, quàm quòd officium meum requirerent, meq; vel oblivionis vel tarditatis, blandè ac tacitè accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas literas, ex quo redii in Angliam; quas tamen video, cùm tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe sit, ut aut hæreant uspiam, et ignavæ atq; otiosæ imitentur religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itinere. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim penè inanes, quòd non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur causa pontificis, et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errâsse videantur: atq; ea causa moratur, et impedit religionem. Difficile est enim cursum incitare. Fecnamus, abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor, ut authoritatem addent professioni suæ, cùm peroraret in senatu, Nazaræos, prophetas, Christum ipsum, et apostolos conjecit in numerum monachorum. Nemo causam nostram acriùs oppugnat, quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: illis ex permutatione dabuntur sacerdotia, quæ antea attributa erant monasteriis. Interim de scholis, et cura literarum magnum ubique silentium. Regina de te honorificè et loquitur, et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russelio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et seriò, et cupidè, et honorificè petaris, nunquam ero author, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod

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ô utinam aliquando contingat) in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verùm quantum video obstabit desiderio nostro, inauspicata illa ex Saxis ac Saxonibus damnata πρεσβία. Nostra enim nunc cogitat fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam è Germania, illud fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam, si addo aliquando fuisse episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem statum, si veteratorem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid est, nos articulos omnes religionis, et doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus à confessione Tiguriná. Quanquam amicus tuus inventum illud, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirificè succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrûm ne de obolo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abjicio insignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, librum et crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud nos; sed ita, ut non ausit venire in publicum. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore? Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verùm, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere. Libri tui nondum venerunt: id ego tanto magis miror, quòd tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenerit, non dubito reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioquin sit per se ornatissimum, tamen si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini ultrò succumbere. Certè etsi te nunquam ex animo eram dimissurus, tamen hâc commonefactione, et mnemosyno excitatus, tanto acriùs et reverentiùs colam, quoad vixero, nomen tuum. Alii tui libri jampridem allati sunt à Bibliopolis, et emuntur cupidissimè. Omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus venabulis illa bestia confossa sit.

Benè vale mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum,

D. Simlerum: dicerem et Frenchamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in balneo esse, aut in via. Hoc enim anni tempore, cum auditur cuculus, vix solet esse apud se. Londini, 28. Apr. 1559.

Tui cupidissimus,

tuoq; nomini deditissimus,

Istæ sunt quartæ. Johannes Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ professori S. theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 51.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland.

Ejusdem ad eundem.

HACTENUS minùs frequenter ad te scripsi, mi pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataq; impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quàm antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multò, quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum penè sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam et difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergò per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristollium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium: vix ut quarto demùm mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies, nescio quid, ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in degressu salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi: regina optimè animata: populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, potiùs, quam ut relinquant papam, quem toties jam antea abjurarunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam

Ex MSS. Tigur.

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nullam habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent à cætu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil suprà. Omnino sperant, et prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosiosum, et valdè deditum futuritionibus ista non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quòd res nostræ eò jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt. In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo, vestes scenicæ, calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: ne vestigia quidem priscæ superstitionis et idololatriæ relinquuntur. Quid quæris? audisti sæpè, σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν: hoc verò est σκυθιστὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se regem Scotiæ, et hæredem Angliæ, si quid reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitùs. Sed mirari non debes, si nostri homines molestè ferant: et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. Fortassè, ut sit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si sit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ, sed desino divinare. D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minùs amicè, quàm si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur episcopi. Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfodiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Grindalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus apostolorum Sarisburiensis. Quod ego onus prorsus decrevi excutere. Interea in academiis mere est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potiùs, quàm ut velint in religionem consentire. Sed comites jamdudum exspectant, et clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi pater, et dulcissimum decus meum; saluta venerandum virum, et mihi mille nominibus in Christo colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberem, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Trisium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quin-

que pistolettos aureos à D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderer angustiâ temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantùm video, ita sunt difficiles, ut nesciam, an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi pater, vale. Quantùm ego tibi optare possum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque et Martyrillum meo nomine. Londini calendis Augusti, 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus,
Tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio profitenti sacram theologiam in ecclesia Tigurina.

Tiguri.

Number 52.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, before he went his progress into the western parts of England.

Ejusdem ad eundem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Et quid tandem ego ad te scribam? nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. ô Tigurum, Tigurum, quantò ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quàm unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in patria nostra simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam ἄγατα καὶ ἀδιήγατα. Verum πολλάκι τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἐνδὸν ἄμεινον. De religione transactum est, utinam bonis auspiciis, ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in papistis fuit.

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Ita miserè comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verùm etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, à nescio quibus, nos enim non advocamur in consilium, seriò, et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem: et clamant, dimidium plus toto. Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis. Nam Bonerus jussus est cedere: qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu de vino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interim nostri παραδοκοῦσι, et pollicentur sibi, ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia, nescio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione: nobiles ejectis monachis occupasse monasteria: et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse: reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem velint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio. Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: alii aliò. Regina non vult appellari caput ecclesiæ, quod mihi certè non displicet. Interim, quid il cavetso de la Chiesa cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odiosissimè pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui à nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de missa. Qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedite, queis est mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde, furit: vident excepto illo palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum octo post annos redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili, et robustâ fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine exspectamus pignora è Gallia. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hoc tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi.

Mitto Pikerinum hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt ut scio μυστικότερα: et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet matrimonia esse fatalia. Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Bernardinum, D. Muraltum, D. Wolphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem reginæ misisti dono redditus est à D. Cæcilio: ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter exquiro, numquid illa velit: et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 53.

A declaration made by the confederate lords of Scotland to the queen of England; of their taking arms against the queen dowager of Scotland, and the French.

Cotton lib. Calig. B. 10. f. 24.

It may be, that on the French parte it wyll be saide, that it behoveth them to subdue the rebellion in Scotland; and to that end only bringe all this power thither: first it may be, and that truly saide, the begynning and ground, yea, and the proceding hitherto being truly considered, is no rebellion. For true it is, that when the French kyng had long sought to compasse the yonge queene of Scotland, and to have her caryed owt of Scotland into Fraunce, there was great difficultie made yn it by the Scots, and att length brought to passe only by the continuall travayle of the mother, being dowager queene; partly by corruption with money, partly by authoritie, partly by fayre promises; and yet was the matter thus ended, that before her person coulde be transported thence, assurance was made by treaty, by

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Deepe, theyr nombre was made in one night sodenly lesse by one bishop, 2 erles, and 2 barons, and so departed home the other three, much amased att the matter. At theyr return, the dowager queene practised all the ways she could in parlement, to obtayne this purpose; which she sought by two ways, one by rewarding those who had not received favour of the duke in the time of his governaunce, partly for the favour they bare at that time to England, parte for other respects; and so sett an enmitie betwixt the duke and them. One other way she offered to certayne of the lords a permission to lyve freely accordyng to their conscience in religion; and at length she became very stronge, and in parliament obtained this matrimoniall crowne, with these conditions, that the duke's right shuld not be empayred therby. Thus proceded she towards her purpose, and daily usurped against the liberties and promises made. She spared not to begin with the greatest. She committed to prison the chancellor of the realme, the erle Huntley; being one of the principal frends to the duke. She took a great fyne of him, and took the seale from hym; committed that to one Rubay, a Frenchman, an advocate of Paris. Not content therwith, she committed the sayd erle to prison, untill she had put hym to a great raunsome; which she took of hym: and to flatter hym, gave hym the name of chancelor, and put the office in Rubaye's handes. Nexte to this, she hath taken the office of the comptroller of the hole realme, to whom belonged the charge of the whole revenues of the crowne; and hath allso committed it to another Frenchman, a servant of her owne, named Vulemore. She hath also sequestred all matters of counsaill of the governaunce of the land, from the Scottish men borne, and retayned all the secreties to French men. But these weare but small thinges yff greater had not followed. Having peace with England, she kepte all the garrisons of French men still in the countrey, who lyved upon discretion; which was a new offense to Scotland. Wages they had none out of France at all: the revenue of the crowne, which was not greate, was sent into Fraunce; and to paye the French band, a new devise

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was made. She procured out of Fraunce a certayne nombre of franks, being altogether in a certayne coyne of sowces, which had bene, for theyr emtiness, decried and barred in Fraunce two yeres before, and were but bullion: these she made currant in Scotland, to paye the soldiors. She allso erected a mynte, and therin abassed a grete quantite of the Scottish money, and therwith allso payed her soldiors. In that mynte allso she permitted certayne of the principalls of the French to coyne theyr owne plate, to theyr owne most advantage: which matter both did notable great hurt in all Scotland, and much offended the realme.

Now follows the practises of the queene with diverse noblemen, to becom parties agaynst the duke: meanes was made, fyrst to have wonne the lord Arskin, to deliver the castell of Edenburgh; next, to have stolen it: but this prevailed not. In this season, and before allso, which had much exasperated the people of the land, the queene gave away abbeys, that fell voyd, to French men: som to her brother, the cardinal Guyse, som to other. And generally, she hath kept in her hands these three hole yeres, allmost all the ecclesiastical dignities that have fallen voyde; saving such as wer of any value, which she gave to French men. Generally she governed all things so, as she never would in any matter followe the counsell of the lordes and nobilite, which, at her first coming to the regiment, were appoynted to be of counsell. Agaynst these her doynges, many intercessions were made by the nobilitie, both joyntly together in good companyes, and advices allso gyven aparte, by such as were sory to see that this governance wold be so dangerous, as it could not be borne: but nothing avayled. And then followed a practise, of all other most dangerous and strange, and, for a personage of honor, a great indignity. The principall matter that was coveted by the queene, was to have cutt away the duke, and his house, and to make a party agaynst hym: by persuasion this was devised. The lord James, being a bastard, son of the last kynge, a man of greate courage and wysdom; and certayne erles and barons of the realme; in whom were considered these two thynges,

no great love towards the duke, nor certayne ceremonies of the churche; and yet being men of courage, were borne in hand by the queene, that she her selfe wold beare with theyr devotion in religion, and upon condition that they would joyne with her governaunce agaynst the duke, for the favour of Fraunce, they shuld lyve freely according to theyr conscience in religion, without any impedyment. Herupon they were somwhat boldned, and therby incurred the censures of the churche, and were also, by a private lawe of the land, ignorantly in danger of treason: wherupon processe was made, they endangered. And then was it tyme for the queene to tempt them to forget theyr country, and become French. But when no inticement could prevayle, then began she to threaten them with the lawe, and would neds declare them traytors. This matter the queene pursued; taking it for a great advantage. But, for their defence, the nobilitie of the realme made much labour. Nothyng would staye the queene; but forthwith she produced her garrisons to the feld, proclaymed them traytors, gave away their lands, entred with men of war into a principal towne, called St. John's Towne, changing the provost of the towne, agaynst the wyll of the burgesses; and left there four bands of men of warre, to fortefie her new provost. And she fynding the whole realme much offended herwith, and charging her dayly with misgovernance, and violating the liberties of the realm, and her power there not sufficient to procede, as she ment, to conquer the land; she sent for the duke and the erle Huntley, and pretended in this necessitie a new good will to them; who travayled for her, and stayed all the adverse part in quietness: and then she promised all matters to be stayed and redressed at parlement the next spring: and promised also diverse other thyngs for the benefite of the land. And then the duke and the erle Huntley tooke upon them to make a quiet with the adverse part. And whiles this was in doyng, the duke's sonne and heyre was sought and sent for to the courte in Fraunce: from whence he was certainly advertised by diverse of most secret knowledge, that his ruine shuld follow, and that he

ART III. should be accused and executed for matters of religion. At the length he abode, untill certayne of good authoritie were depeched from the court, to bryng hym eyther quick or dead. Before their comming, he escaped, without daunger: and they toke his yonger brother, a child, abowt fifteen yeres of age, and commytted him to prison. In this tyme, thyngs being well appeased in Scotland, and every noble man returned to theyre countrees, by the duke's meanes principally, who shewed most favour to the quene, and had gaged his fayth to the nobilitie of Scotland for keping of all thynges in quiet untill the parlement; there arrived certayne bands of souldiours out of Fraunce into Leethe; whose comming made such a chaunge in the queene, as she newly caused the towne of Leeth to be fortified, being the principall porte of the realme, and placed twenty two enseignes of souldiors, with one band of horsemen, therin. Herupon the nobilitie challenged the duke: who had nothing to saye; but entreated the queen, by his most humble letters, to forbeare these mannor of doinges; wherin he could not prevayle. The force of the French was then encreased, Leeth fortified, all ammunition carried into the towne, nothyng left to the Scotts, whereby either well to defend themselfes, or to annoye the towne. Beside this, out of Fraunce there came dayly French powre by sea; yea ther went allso, not denyed by the queen's majestie of England, captayns by land through England. Well, at the length the duke and all the nobilitie made new intercession by theyr letters, that she would forbeare this fortificacion: for otherwyse her purpose of conquest would appeare to the whole realm; wherupon would grow great disquiet. But her comforth grew so greate owt of France, that she despised all requestes. And thus came the matter to the termes which the French courted: for now thought they it would be but 3 or 4 dayes work to subdue Scotland: wherunto nevertheless besydes theyre owne powre, she entretayned two or three meane lords, such as lay betwyxt Leeth and Barwick, which was the erle Bothwell and lord Setan, who be the only two, of all the nobilitie of Scotland,

that keepeth company with the queen; and yet, as they do notify themselfes by their doyngs, have their harts with their countreymen. And nowe the duke and the rest of the nobilitie, with the barons and burgeses of the realme, fynding no hope of remedy at her hands, but perceyving an eminent danger to the realme, which could not be avoyded by any entreaty, assembled themselves, as regrating the afflicted realme. They began depely to consyder, on the one part, the right of their soveraign lady, being married to a strange prince, and out of her realme, in the hands of Frenchmen only, without counsell of her own natural people; and therwith the mortalitie of her husband, or of her self, before she cold have issue: and on the other side, what the dowager, being a French woman, systar to the house which ruleth all in France, had done, attemped, and dayly persisted in ruinating unnaturally the liberties of her daughter, the queen's subjects, for ambition, to knitte that realme perpetually to France, whatsoever becam of her daughter; and so to execute ther old malace upon England, the stile and title wherof they had alredy usurped; were in the end constrayned to constitute a counsayle, for the governaunce of the realme, to the use of theyr soverayn lady: and therwith humbly to signifie to her the reasonable suspension of the dowager's authoritie; which to mayntayn, they have of themselves, as naturall subjects, convenient strength, being sore oppressed with the French powre; which untill this presant day they do, as theyr powers can endure; being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meanest force of France: so as although they have been of long tyme occasioned thus to doe; and now for safety, as well of theyr soveraign's right, as of the ancient right of the crown, have been forced to spend all ther substance, to hazard theyr lifes, theyr wifes, and children, and country: yet can they not longer preserve themselves and the realm from conquest, by this power that is now arrived in Scotland, and is in readiness to be sent thither before next spring. And therfore they have communicated their hole cause to certayn of the queen's majesties ministers upon the borders, and seek all

PART III. the ways they can, how they might, without offence of hir majesty, committ theyr just and honorable cause to the protection of hir majesty, onely, requiring this, that theyr realme may be saved from the conquest by France, and the right of theyr soveraign lady preserved, with all other rights of their nation of Scotland depending thereupon.

August, 1559.

The petition of the lords of Scotland signed with their own hands.

We desire yat he hall nommeris of Frenchmen of weir being presentlie within yis realme, may be removed with speed; that we may in tymes coming leif quyetlie without feir of thair troubill.

Item, That we may haif place to sute of the king and queen our soveraignis sik articlis as ar necessarie for us, for pacification and perfect government of the realm without alteration of our anteant liberties.

[a] The earl of Aran always signs thus, for the title of Aran was in his father at that time.

[a] James Hamilton.
Ard. Argyll.
Glencarn.

[b] This seems to be the lord James, afterwards made earl of Murray.

[b] James Stewart.

[c] The earl of Huntley's son.

[c] Alex. Gordon.

[d] Cannot be read.

[d] John.
R. Boyd.
Uchiltre.
John Maxwell.
Ruthuen.

[e] Probably the earl of Athol's son.

[e] James Stewart.

Number 54.

A short discussion of the weighty matters of Scotland, Aug. 1559.

tton lib. lig. 10.

In sir W. Cecyll's hand.

Question, Whether it be mete that England should

helpe the nobilitie, and protestants of Scotland, to expell the French: or no? BOOK VI.

That No.

I. It is against God's law to ayd any subjects against their naturall prince, or their ministers.

II. It is dangerouse to doo it; for if the ayd shal be no other than maye be kept in secretie, it cannot be great; and so consequently it shall not suffice. If it shall be open, it will procure warres, and the end therof is uncertain.

III. It maye be dowted that when money spent is, and aide shall be given, the French maye compownd with the Scottes, and pardon that error, to joyne both in force ageynst England; which is more easy to be beleved, because they had rather make a shamefull composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoyned and united to the crown of England.

IV. It may be dowbted, that to staye the progress of religion, ageynst the see of Rome, the emperor, the king catholicke, the pope, and the potentates in Italy, the duke of Savoye, will rather conspyre with the French king, than to suffer theis two monarchies to be joyned in one manner of religion. And in this part may be doubted that many, aswell Scottes as English, that can lyke very well to have these two kingdomes perfectly knitt in amytye, will not allowe them to be knitt in a lyke religion.

That Yea.

I. First, It is agreeable, both to the law of God and nature, that every prynce and publyck state shuld defend it self; not only from perrills presently sene, but from dangers that be probably sene to come shortly after.

II. Secondly, Nature and reason teacheth every person, politick or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth in offence.

Uppon theis two prynciplees agreed will evidently follow, that England both maye and ought to ayde Scotland to kepe owt the Frenche.

1. First, The crowne of England hath a good title to the

PART III.

superiorety of Scotland; and owght to defend the libertyes thereof, as themperor is bound to defend the state of Millane, or of Boheme, being held of the empyre. And to prove this superiorety, remayne undowted prooffes under seale, of sondry homagees done to this crowne by the kings of Scotland successyvely, of their accesses to the parlements of England, of the episcopall jurisdiction of the see of York over Scotland: in consideration wherof, if it may appere that the French meane to subdue Scotland, and so to exempt that realme from the amytye of England, it semeth that England is of duety, and in honour bound to preserve the realme of Scotland from such an absolute dominion of the French.

2. *Item*, Beside this interest that England hath in the crowne of Scotland, for the quiet possession, wheras France hath onely by there warres kept the realme of England*. It is most manifest that France cannot any wise so redely, so puissantly, so easely offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in daunger, as if they may recover an absolute authorite over Scotland: and before that be proved, it semeth not out of order, though not very nedefull to make manifest that the French ar to be taken as enemyes in will, though not in manifest words.

* A word seems wanting; probably, *in danger*.

How long time they have bene enemyes to England, how brickle, how false, how double ther pacts of peace have bene, the storyes be witnesses theis seven hondred yeres. Was there ever king of England, with whom they have not made warres? And now of late, uppon what occasion they made peace with England is too manifest. It was by reason of wearyness and povertye, which was such, as the late French king forboare not to expresse in his letters to the queen of England, mentioning the invasions made in Bryttaine by sea. And indede this is to be received as a principle, that France cannot be poor above one or two yeres, nether can so long be out of wars. The revenues of the French crown are thyngs unknown: the insolency of the French nation, being in hope of victory, is not unknown. The long

Guise, which now occupyeth the
England hath been often well

to the matter; it is manifest many
platt that house hath made to bereave
f hir crowne. In queen Mary's tyme,
et to divulge ther opinions agaynst this
queen's majesty; and as it was well
Almighty God favored the queen's majesty
owne with such universall joy of hir people,
proclaimed ther title both in France and

ise in the treaty of the peace at Chasteau in
it appeared what they would have compassed,
pressed the Burgundians to conclude with them,
-pass the treaty with England; alledging, that
ld not tell how to treat with England, but to the
ce of ther right; the dauphiness, his daughter, then
right to the crown of England. How bold they
have been, if at that tyme she had been queen of
e, and her husband king, as he now is! For then the
m of the constable governed the rashness of the
ans.

ıce the peace concluded, whilest the French king lived,
means they made at Rome to have made the queen's
ty to be declared illegitimate, is manifest; and so as it
own that the same sentence is brought into France
the pope's bulls. Likewise, at the confirmation of the
betwixt Spain and France, at the solemnities even
the French king was slayne, it appereth what mani-
ıjurye and dishonour they did to the queen's majesty,
ign the arms of England and Ireland to the French
ı, and that in all their pageants: and being admonished
of by the ambassador, wold nether make collorable ex-
nor leave it; but both continued therin, and also to
e the queen's majesty's ambassador, and ratification of
eace with the stile. M. Meulas serv'd them with silver
l stamped with the same usurped armes. How lightly

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they have esteemed the queen's majesty, in all this tyme appereth: for here they be bound by treaty to deliver 4 hostages, notwithstanding that they have been pressed therto, they have sent but three; wherof one or two be such, as if they had not been here; but whether the queen's majestie had not suffered the dishonour, to have one of her subjects murdered, and no redress therof, but as it appered when they had committed the murder, they disdained, and quarrelled against such as did but seke to understand the offenders.

Now the very cause why they stay the prosecution hereof is this, their interruption and parboylls unlooked for in Scotland, which doth so occupy them as they nether can ne dare to utter ther former maliciose purpose untill that be ended.

But surely besid there old cankered malyce to this realm, this matter so inflameth the house of Guise, that they will not forbear one day longer than of mere necessity they shall be constreyned, to bord this realm with that fayned tytle, and to avance the same. It is knowen that they have sent a great seale into Scotland with the armes, and very stile and title of England and Ireland, and what more manefest arguments can be to shew what they mean and intend then these. In princes practices it is mere childeshness to tarry until the practices be set abrode, for then were it as good to tarry till the trumpet sound wars. All things have there causes precedeing before, but nothing hath his causes precedeing more secretly than the practices of princess; and of all other none is so conning as the French.

It followeth to be considered, that now the French have no convenient way to invade England but by Scotland; by Carlisle they were accustomed, by sea is not so convenient for them, the same being too chargeable for them to assayle: wherefore if it be sene that they will persue their purpose and that by Scotland, then reason must force England to confess that to avoyde this danger so apparent, can no way be devised, but to help that the French have not such rule and overhand in Scotland as that they may by that realm invade England.

Lastly, It is to be considered how dangerouse it is for England to be invaded by the way of Scotland.

First, If the French shall present to England a battle, either they will do it with strangers, or French and strangers: if they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this crown. And though they lese, yet do they not put there own kingdom of France in danger. And therefore it is double the danger for England to venter battle upon the frontiers of England, to a battle upon the marches of Calais or Bulloyness.

A conclusion.

It seemeth the weightiest matter to be considered, that either hath or can chance to England, What is presently to be done for the aid of Scotland: for if it shuld be nedefull the delay will adventure the whole: and if loss come, it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the cause were well and secretly weighted: first, by discreet and wise men, that have experience, affected to the English nation, special love to the queens majesties person; and that done, to send by some colour for the nobilitie, and to consult with them, or ells to send some trusty persons with credit to understand their minds.

Number 55.

The Bond of Association, with this title, Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.

Copied from the original at Hamilton.

At Edinburgh, the twintie seventh of Apryll, the year of God ane thousand fyve hundred threescore years: we whaes names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the presence of our God, and be thir presents promitts, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special, be himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we may do, sall set forwart the reformation of religion, according to Goddes worde; and procure, be all means possible, that the true preaching of Goddes

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word may haif free passage within this realme, with dew administration of the sacraments, and all thinges depending upon the said worde. And sicklyke deiply weighing with our selves the misbehaviour of the Franche ministers heir, the intolerable oppressions committed be the Franchmen of weir, upon the puir subjects of this realme, be meyntenance of the queen dowriare, under collour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conqueist, in whilk this countrie presently stands; be reason of diverse fortifications on the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts that we sall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the queen of England's armie, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain part of the expulsion of the said strayngars, oppressors of our liberty, furth of this realme, and recovery of our ancient freedomes and liberties; to the end in tyme coming, we may, under the obedience of our king and queen our soverains, be only reulyt be the laws and customes of the countrie, and by the men of the land: and that never any of us all haiff pryvy intelligence, be writing, or message, or communication, with any of our said enemys or adversars in this cause, bot be the advyce of the rest, at leist of fyve of our numbers: attour, that we sall tender this present cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the cause of every one of us now joyned together, being leiful and honest, shall be all our causes in general. And he that is enemy to the cause forsaid, sall be enemy to us all: in so far, that whatsomever person will plainly resist thir our godly interprysis, and will not concurr as ane guid member of this common weill; we sall fortify the authority of the counsell, to reduce them to their deuty: lyke as we sall fortify the said authority of the counsale, in all things tending to the furtherance of the said cause. And giff any particular debate, quarrell or contraversee sall aryse, for whatsomever cause, bygain, present or to come, betwixt any of us; (as God forbid) in that case,

we sall submit our selves and our said questions to the decision of the counsale, or to arbitrators, to be named be them. Provyding allwayes that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar jurisdiction of judges: but that men may persue their actions by ordour of law, civilly or criminally, befor the judges ordinars, gif they please.

Number 56.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, setting forth the progress that superstition had made in queen Mary's reign.

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S. P.

TANDEM tamen aliquando Londinum redii, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quòd nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego verò interea tres totos menses longinqua, et perdifficili legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolii, redditæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster adduxerat: ita amicè scriptæ, itaq; suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorsus exciperent ex animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: itaque ego miser, privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse, video: quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad te vix quintas pervenisse. Sed de legatione, inquies, illa vestra quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit seges, et sylva superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas reliquias superstitiosas divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant; et, nescio quas, portiunculas sacræ crucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum

Ex MSS. Tigur.

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excreverat. Ecclesiæ cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius, aut fœdius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent à nostra sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parùm consideratè videantur mutâsse voluntatem, turbant omnia: sed turbent, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, et de sacerdotiis exturbavimus. Hardingus, homo constans, locum mutare maluit, quàm sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem, sed constanter; hoc est, perinvitus. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquies. An potest à Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est, et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim homo gravis, et columen atque antistes religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repentè factus est adversarius infestissimus papistarum. I nunc, et nega transubstantiationem. Papistarum acies penè sua sponte ceciderunt. O, nisi nobis deesset operæ, non malè de religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est currum agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso monte. Heri, ubi primùm Londinum redii, audivi ex episcopo Cantuariensi, te invitari ad nos, et tibi lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio: hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonii doceat sacras literas. Equidem te, mi pater, videre percupio, et præsertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam prudentiam: nôsti genium, et ingenium insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, esse inchoata, utinam sint boni principia. Nihil est hodie illâ scholâ desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, penè lusisse operam: ita in lætissima aliquando segite, nunc infælix lollium, et steriles dominantur avenæ. Liber tuus de votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissime distrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quàm mox editurus sis alias commentationes in librum Judicum, et in duos libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te

illos libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere. Suecus, et Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificissimè ambiunt. Sed Suecus impensè: ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noster obiit diem suum, postquam designatus esset episcopus Roffensis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videre novum. Docetur evangelium, ecclesiæ assiduè colliguntur, et omnia priscæ superstitionis monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant, se posse et regnum, et religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te aliàs pluribus. Instat nunc annus sexagesimus, de quo mihi tu solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Stato, nescio quæ, mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπολείας, et in omnium oculos incurrat evangelii Jesu Christi veritas. Vale, mi pater, et uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex tuis literis, et Abeli nostri prædicatione, notissimam. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse à vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex animo,
Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus instantissimè rogavit, ut te suo nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latinè scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, nemo de te aut sæpius aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus salutem, et tibi dicit, et uxori tuæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in ecclesia Tigurina.

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Number 57.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, concerning the earnestness of some about vestments and rituals.

Idem ad eundem.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Biduo, postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de via, atq; anhelans, nescio quid, ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt à te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: quarum suavissimâ lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certò assiduè, et in singulas horas facio, et nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione, et memoriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amænissimè colloqui: quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes episcoporum. De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, ô utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantoperè placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optimè scribis reliquiæ Amorehæorum. Qui senim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri et extirpari possint, nostræ quidam nec vices ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt. Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero, aut loco, quo tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent. Non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quòd noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quòd puduerit scribere, nunc uterque laborat gravissimè, è quartana, sed ἀρχιμάγειρος, quoniam est naturâ tristiori, multò

aviùs. Ingemuisti, pro tua erga communem causam pie-
e, cùm audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum.
inc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quic-
am. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum,
à Scoto, et Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales.
d, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa
causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura
nt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus
erare lætiora. Facilè intereunt, quæ facilè maturitatem
equuntur. De libro tuo, memini me, antequam disce-
rem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ,
tasse, ut fit, periere in itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, re-
iam ultrò et cupidè legisse, epistolam, et apud ipsam,
que in universum doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum miri-
è prædicasse: librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis
iti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere.
hil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quod ego
am? pudet me, nec scio, quid respondeam. Tamen regina
lulò sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ
letudine, quâ conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter
ere. Omninò velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam,
, qui tua voce coluisses academiam, eandem nunc dissipa-
n, et miserè habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen,
scio quo pacto, deliberationes Saxonicæ, et legationes
gulianæ ista consilia peremerunt. Tamen quidquid est,
il est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem
itari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. ô utinam
nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam, et robur asse-
antur. Cupio enim, mi pater, te videre, et suavissimis
monibus, et amicissimis consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego
m si videro, vel potius, uti spero, ubi videro quas Sama-
rinas, aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale dulce decus
um, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta uxo-
n tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut
liciter pariat, et pulchra faciat te prole parentem. Sa-
a D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D.
nlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, Julium, Juliam, et

PART III. Martyrillum, D. Hermanum tuum, meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,
Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurinâ domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 58.

A letter of Jewell's to Peter Martyr, full of apprehensions.

Ejusdem ad eundem.

S. P.

Etsi ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum, nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem fortè audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem à me dimittere. Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissimè. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola malè nata, malè auspicata, adhuc stat in lararío principis. Me miserum: res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisq; mysticè. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius causæ nostræ impensè favit. Episcopi adhuc designati tantùm sunt: interim prædia pulchrè augent fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissimè atq; optime coluisti, miserrimè nunc disjecta

jacet, sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ulla literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, et animo, atq; unicè cupio, author sum, ut si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego prudentiam tuam: et tu vicissim, spero, observantiam erga te meam. Equidem hoc possum verè affirmare, neminem esse hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit, quam mihi. Tamen, ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quàm præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parùm opportunè. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra mariq; juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nôsti enim, Tùm tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet. Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortassè non minoribus excipietur. Londini 16 Novemb. 1559.

Jo. Juellus,
Totus tuus.

Istæ sunt nonæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo et longè doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 59.

The queen's letter to the emperor, concerning her aversion to marriage. An original.

Nos, in ipsius animi nostri sensus diligenter inquirendo, non invenimus in nobis voluntatem ullam deserendi hanc solitariam vitam, sed potiùs, juvante Deo, libentem animi inductionem in eadem diutius porro vita perseverandi: nos certè necessario ad eam ipsam causam eo in his literis utemur sermone, qui cum corde nostro omnino consentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, et benevole interpretetur vestra

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PART III.

majestas, admodum rogamus. In quo nostro sermone, si novum aliquid inesse videatur, quod facile potest accidere, si ætas nostra cum reliquis conditionis nostræ rationibus consideretur. Nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut subitum consilium suscipere, sed vetus potius retinere videri jure debemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore consensisse ad præclara sane et honorata connubia eripere nos potuisset, è certis quibusdam magnis mæroribus et periculis: de quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec discriminis mala, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi nostri voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud voluimus, vel aperte recusando videri, vestram majestatem offendere, vel contra, occasionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente et voluntate non instituimus.

5 Januarii, 1559.

Vestræ majestatis bona soror
et consanguinea,
ELISABETHA R.

R. Ascamus.

Number 60.

A letter of bishop Jewell's to Peter Martyr, concerning the cross in the queen's chapel.

Ejusdem ad eundem.

S. P.

O MI pater, quid ego adscribam? rei non multùm est, temporis verò multò minùs; sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te authore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui sapere aliquid videbantur, insaniunt. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum, nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re disputatio. Arbitri erunt è senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus: hinc Grindallus Londinensis episcopus, et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κρίται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, et quàm gravibus, ac solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim

sub judice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te episcopus. Eò enim jam res pervenit, ut aut cruces argenteæ et stanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus relinquendi.

Sed quid ago? destituor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum summum, et popularem episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethorpum Carliolensem, et Bainum Litchfildensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem, ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus ruri agit longè gentium; Parkurstus in regno suo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, reverendissimum patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Wolphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium: ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc tempore, si esset otium. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmenus, te salutant, et cùm tibi omnia cupiunt, nihil magis cupiunt, quàm Angliam. Quanquam, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Benè vale, mi pater, benè vale. Londini, 4 Februarii 1560.

Tibi deditissimus,
Jo. Juellus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 61.

A letter of bishop Sands, expressing the uneasiness he was in by reason of the idol in the queen's chapel.

Edwinus Wigornensis ad Martyrem.

Salutem in Christo.

QUOD nullas tam diu, vir reverende, literas ad te dederim, Ex MSS. Tigur.

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non officii quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, sed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, scribendi munus pro tempore invitus intermisi, quod cum tabellarii jam sese offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non censeo. Sub Augusti initium, cum literas ad te dedissem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abusus ecclesiæ tollendas, et ritus pietati et veræ religioni consonantes, eidem restituendos, tanquam inspector et visitator, ut vocant, cum principis mandato dimissus; et illic ad Novembris usque initium, assiduè in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non sine maximis cum corporis tum animi laboribus versatus, Londinum tandem redii. Ubi novæ rursus curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: opera enim mea in episcopatu Wigorniensi administrando à principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, episcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carliolensem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam episcopatum omnino recusare; at id non licuit, nisi et principis indignationem mihi procurare, et Christi ecclesiam quodammodo deserere voluissem. Sub hac, literas tuas, omni humanitate plenissimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc discederet, respondere distuli; partim, quod res Anglicæ tum temporis non ita mutatæ, sed in eodem quasi gradu consistentes, exiguam scribendi materiam suppeditabant; partim verò, quod novum illud onus (sic enim veriùs quam honos dici potest) novis curis et negotiis me mirum in modum distrahebat. En diuturni silentii mei causam habes, vir plurimùm observande. Eucharistiæ doctrina hactenus Dei beneficio non impugnata, nobis salva et incolumis manet, mansuramq; speramus. Pro viribus enim et ipse, et alii fratres coepiscopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat controversiæ. R. majestas, non alienum esse à verbo Dei, immò in commodum ecclesiæ fore putabat, si imago Christi crucifixi, unâ cum Maria et Joanne, ut tales, in celebriori ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni populo facillimè conspiceretur. Quidem ex nobis longè aliter judicabant; præsertim cum omnes omnis generis imagines, in proxima

nostra visitatione, idque publica authoritate, non solùm sublatæ, verumetiam combustæ erant: cumque huic idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara et superstitiosa plebe adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus occasio ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum aberat, quin et ab officio amoverer, et principis indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, pro tempestate tranquillitatem dedit, et ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa papistica, capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus. Quantum, ex eo quod te tuaque præsentia jam destituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic ecclesiæ et religionis negotium, diligenter et sæpissimè apud eos, quibus reipublicæ cura imminet, commemorare soleo. Nescio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res gravissimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accersendo statutum video. Semel sat scio reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret: quid verò impedivit, puto te facilè ex te colligere posse. Causa Christi multos semper habet adversarios; et qui optimi sunt, pessimè semper audiunt. Sacramentum illud unitatis, magnas facit hodie divisiones. Novum tibi conjugium gratulor: precor ut fælix faustumque sit; quemadmodum et mihi ipsi opto, qui eam conjugii legem nuper subii. Mirus hic belli apparatus est, partim ad propulsandam Gallorum vim, si fortè dum Scotiam sibi subjugare conentur, nostras fines invaserint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, sicubi pacis fœdus nobiscum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in nominis sui gloriam, et evangelii propagationem cedant. Hæc priusquam me Wigorniam recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me spero, literis tibi significanda duxi. Fusius verò scripsissem, nisi quod sciam fratrem nostrum Juellum, episcopum Sarisburiensem, sæpe et diligenter de rebus nostris omnibus te certiorem facturum. Si qua in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi honorande Petre, me semper uteris quoad vixero; immò etiam post vitam, si fieri potest, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæso plurimùm meo nomine, clarissimum virum

PART III. D. Bullingerum. Debeo ipsi literas, imò omnia ipsi debeo; et tantum solvam quantum possim, si quando offerat sese occasio. Saluta uxorem tuam, Julium cum Julia, D. Hermannum, Paulum et Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia fælicia precor. Vale, humanissime, doctissime, ac colendissime D. Petre. Londini, festinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex animo,
Edwinus Wigornensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo ac doctissimo viro, D. doctori Petro Martyri, domino suo plurimùm colendo. *Tiguri.*

Number 62.

A letter of Dr. Sampson's to Peter Martyr, setting forth his reasons of not accepting a bishoprick.

Idem ad eundem.

Argent. Dec. 17.

MSS. gur. Ego te per Christum rogo, mi pater optime, ne graveris mihi quàm citissimè respondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum sit in titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando. Supremum caput post Christum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c. universa scriptura videtur hoc soli Christo tribuere, ut caput ecclesiæ vocetur. Secundò, si regina me ad aliquod munus ecclesiasticum, dico, ad ecclesiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an salva conscientia recipere possum, quum hæc mihi videantur sufficere excusationis loco, ne in id consentirem. 1. Quod propter disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ defectum, episcopus, vel pastor, non possit suo fungi officio. 2. Quod tot sint civilia gravamina, episcopatui, vel pastori imposita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) frugum, i. e. redituum primi anni, tum decimarum, ad hæc in episcopatibus tot et tanta, insumenda sunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulicis, quæ semper præstò debent esse; et ut tu nôsti, ut quam minima pars episcopatuum relinquitur, ad necessaria epi-

scopo munia obeunda, nempe ad doctos alendos, ad pauperes pascendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius ministerium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad episcopos præcipuè referatur, quod nunc scribo, tanta est in eorum electione degeneratio à primâ institutione, neque cleri enim, neque populi consensus habetur, tanta superstitiosi ornatus episcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto benè ferri possit, si modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit. Quod ad me attinet, non hæc scribo quasi talia sperarem; immò Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; sed à te fidissimo meo parente consilium peto, quo possim instructior esse, si talia mihi obtingant. Ego sic responderem, Me quidem paratum esse in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inservire concionandi munere, cæterum ecclesiam regendam me non posse suscipere, nisi ipsa prius justa reformatione ecclesiasticorum munerum, facta, ministris jus concedat omnia secundùm verbum Dei administrandi, et quantum ad doctrinam, et quantum ad disciplinam, et quantum ad bona ecclesiastica. Si autem quæ sit illa reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem. Simpliciter, mi pater, apud te solum depono cordis mei secreta; teque per Christum rogo, ut mea secretò apud te solum teneas, et mihi quam citissime rescribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa reformatio, et aliquid de ipsa reformatione. Literas tuas ad Hetonum mitte: ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterùm, te per Christum rogo, ut quanta poteris festinantia scribas. Ego brevi iturus sum versus Angliam. Habemus papistas, anabaptistas, et plurimos evangelicos adversarios, et doctrinæ et piæ reformationi: contra hos, ut tueatur, gloriam Christi, promoveatque vexillum Christi, quis idoneus? O mi pater, pro me roga Deum incessanter.

Tuus totus,
Th. Sampson.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo viro, D. D.
Petro Martyri. *Tiguri.*

PART III.

Number 63.

A second letter of Sampson's, expressing great uneasiness that matters were not carried on as he wished.

Idem ad eundem.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Quas scripsisti literas quarto Novembris, accepi tertio Januarii. Jam unum annum egi in Anglia, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne sequens annus plus molestiarum mihi pariat. Non tamen solus timeo mihi, sed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo scriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo sanctissimi patres, teque imprimis, D. Petre, pater et præceptor charissime, per Jesum Christum obtestor, ut strenuè Deum deprecari velitis: hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne veritas evangelii vel obfuscetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, suavissime pater, quod tam sis diligens in scribendo. Satisfecisti tu, satisfecit et D. Bullingerus mihi, in quæstionibus; utrisque immortalis Deus noster rependat. Consecratio episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est: D. Parkerus Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindall Londinensis, D. Sands Vigorniensis, notos tibi nomino: unus alius, Wallus, etiam est episcopus, sed tibi ignotus. Sequentur brevi, D. Pylkyntonus Vintoniensis, D. Benthamus Coventrensis, et tuus Juellus Sarisburiensis, brevi, inquam, ut audio, sunt isti consecrandi, (ut nostro utar vocabulo.) Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egressus, vel ingressus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipse novit, quam hoc aveam. Episcopi sint alii; ego vellem aut concionatoris solius, aut nullius munus subire: Domini fiat voluntas. O mi pater, quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex aula verbi ministerium; admittatur autem crucifixi imago, cum accensis luminaribus. Altaria quidem sunt diruta, et imagines per totum regnum. In sola aula, crucifixi imago cum candelis retinetur. Et miser popellus id non solùm libenter audit, sed et sponte imitabitur. Quid ego sperem, ubi tres ex novitiis nostris episcopis, unus veluti sacer minister, secundus loco diaconi, tertius subdiaconi loco, mensæ Domini astabunt coram imagine crucifixi, vel certè non procul sito idolo, cum candelis, ornati aureis

vestibus papisticis, sicque sacram Domini cœnam porrigebant, sine ulla concione? Quæ spes boni, cùm à multis istis idololatriæ reliquiis religionem nostri petere volunt, et non à viva Dei voce sonante? Quid sperem ego, cum concionaturis injungi debeat, ne vitia asperè tangantur; cum concionatores, si quid dicant quod displiceat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me capit æstus iste animi, silendum est: vix capita nostræ imminentis miseriæ tetigi. Deus æterne, nostri miserere, per Christum Deum et Salvatorem nostrum. Unicam hanc à vobis quæstionem proponam solvendam: mi pater, te volo uti mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, et D. Bernardinum. Hæc est: Num imago crucifixi, cum accensis candelis, in mensa Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter adiaphora ponenda. Si non sit, sed pro re illicita et nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quæro, si princeps ita injungat omnibus episcopis et pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas ecclesias imaginem cum candelis, vel ministerio verbi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit? Annon potius deferendum ministerium verbi et sacramentorum sit, quam ut hæ reliquiæ amoræorum admittantur? Certè vident nonnulli ex nostris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum ministerium, si modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi pater, tuas hic partes unica vice age; hoc est, ut quàm diligentissimè et citissimè me certiorem facias, quid vestra pietas hic censet, quæque sit omnium vestrum sententia tui inquam D. Bullingerum, et D. Bernardin. hujus authoritas, ut audio, maxima est apud reginam. Quod vellet aliquando scribere, hortatum illam, ut strenuè agat in Christi negotio: testor ex animo, quod certè sciam (fidenter dico) quod verè filia Dei sit. Opus tamen habet ejusmodi consiliariis qualis ille est: nam quod Augustinus Bonifacio dixit, id ferè in omnibus principibus verum est; nempe, quòd plures habeant qui corpori, paucos qui animæ consulent. Quod autem ab illo contendo vellem, et à vobis petere si auderem. Ego tamen hac in re vestræ me subjicio prudentiæ. Callet ut nôsti linguam Italicam, Latinè et Græcè etiam benè docta est. In his linguis si aliud scribatur à vobis, vel à domino Bernardino,

PART II. omnino puto rem gratissimam vos facturos regiæ majestati, et operam navaturos ecclesiæ Anglicanæ utilissimam. Deus vos spiritu suo ducat in perpetuum. Benè vale; et rescribe unica hac vice quàm poteris festinanter. Saluta meo nomine officiosissimè D. Bullingerum, tuamq; uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam scripsi, tantùm apud D. Bullingerum et D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores spargi meo nomine. Imò nec hoc vobis scriberem, nisi sperarem aliquid inde boni eventurum. Forsan vel scribetis (ut dixi) vel saltem bonum mihi dabitis consilium in proposita quæstione. Agite vos pro vestra pia prudentia. Iterum vale. Raptim, 6. Januar.

Tuus ex animo,
Tho. Sampson.

Si quid scribatur regi majestati, vel à te vel à domino Bernardino, vel D. Bullingero, non quasi vos ab alio incitati fueritis scribendum, ut vos melius nostris, &c. Salutat te ex animo noster Chamberus. Mea uxor quartana vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hetonum cum sua bene valere. Rure ago inter rusticos, Christum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Sprengiamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo theologo D. Petro Martyri, sacrarum literarum professori fidelissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 64.

Archbishop Parker's letter to secretary Cecil, pressing the filling the sees of York and Duresme then vacant.

An original.

After salutations in Christ to your honore, this shal be instantly to desire you to make request to the queen's majestie, that some bishops myght be appoynted in the north: you wold not beleve me to tell howe often it is requyred at

dyverse men's hands, an howe the peple there is offended that thei be nothing caryd for: alasse ther be peple rude of ther owne nature, and the more sad nede to be loked to, for reteyning those in quyet and cyvilitie. I feare that whatsoever is nowe to husbondly saved, wil be an occasion of furder expence in keeping them down, yf (as God forfend) ther shuld be to much Iryshe and savage. Peradventure, Terence councelleth not a mysse, *pecuniam in loco negligere summum interdum lucrum.* I know the queen's highnes disposition to be graciously bent to have her peple to know and fear God; why shuld other hynder her good zeale for mony sake as yt is most commonly judged. If such as have ben named to Yorke and Duresme, be not acceptable, or of themselfes not inclyned to be bestowed ther, I wold wishe that some such as be placed already, wer translated thither. And in myn opynion, yf you wold have a lausier at Yorke, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Yonge, is both wytty, prudent, and temperate, and man like.

The bishop of Rochester were well bestowed at Durisme nye to his own contrye, wher tho ther ii bishopryks might be more easily provided for, and lesse inconvenience, though they for a tyme stood voyde: and if to the deanry of Durisme, to joyne with him wer Mr. Skynner apoynted, whom I esteem learned, wise, and expert. I think you cowd not better place them; nowe yf eyther of them, or any of us all shall be feared to hurt the state of our churches, by exercising any extraordinarye practising, for packing and purchasing; this feare myght sure be prevented. We have olde presidents in lawe practised in tymes past, for such parties suspected to be bownd at their entrye to leave ther churches in no worse case by ther defauts then thei fownd them, and then what wold you have more of us. I have a fortyme weryed you in this sute, and yet I see these strange delayes determyned. I shal not cease to trouble you therin: if ye here me not for justyce sake, for the Zeale ye must beare to Christes deare soulys, importunyte shall wynne one day I dout not: for I see yt hath obtained even a *judicibus iniquis quarto magis a misericordibus*: thus concluding, I

PART III. shall offer my prayer to God that ye may fynd grace in your sollicitations to the queen's majestie for the comfort of her peple, and discharge of her own soule. At Lambeth this 16th of October.

Your to my uttermost power,
Mathew Cantuar.

Number 65.

A letter of bishop Jewell's to Peter Martyr, concerning the council of Trent, the lord Darly's going to Scotland, with an account of his mother.

Idem ad eundem.

x MSS. figur. SALUTEM plur. in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, mi pater, non solum quod essent à te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verumetiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia religionis luculentissimè describerent: quòdq; ego me, cùm eas legerem, et te ita propè abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquantò te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur, tamen et certiores, et multò etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod à te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quod scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle mutationem in religione aliquam fieri, non tam studio et amore pietatis, quàm quòd papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodq; non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quacunq; causa ista fiant, modò prædicatur Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multùm et evangelium promoverit, et adversarios adflixerit. Quod autem scribis, interim quoddam à quibusdam, et farraginem religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: scio omnes in republ. magnas mutationes odiosas et graves esse: et multa sæpè à principibus, temporis causâ, tollerari. Atq; illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc verò, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vesti-

gia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utq; aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λιθοστολία, obtinere potuissemus: nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus à doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

Apud nos, de religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant Turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quod si leges æquè nunc vigerent, atq; olim, sub Henrico, facilè succumberent. Est genus hominum contumax et indomitum: ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper apologiam de mutata religione, et discessione ab ecclesia Romana. Eum ego librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea ferè omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur; tanta est typographorum nostrorum negligentia. Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad consilium: quod, an ullum, aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certè si uspiam, aut ullum est, perarcanum, et valdè obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare causas, quibus inducti ad concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis congressionibus et colloquiis, nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis, ad propagandum evangelium. Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neq; adhuc quid velit sciri potest. Tametsi, quò suspiciones nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suecus diuturnus procus, et valdè assiduus, nuper admodùm dimissus est. Ille, acceptâ repulsâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam: ut, cùm apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in vicinia. Est mulier quædam nobilis, domina Margareta, neptis Henrici Octavi, mulier supra modum infensa religioni, supra etiam rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plùs minùs octodecim annos natum, summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus mulieris maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum esse à matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est:

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potest inter illos convenire aliquid de nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, papistas aliquid moliri: sperant enim adhuc, nescio quid, non minùs quàm Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius pontificis hæret adhùc in Flandria: nondùm enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tutò veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquitanus, legatus Philippi, astutus, et callidus veterator, et factus ad insidias, satagit quantum potest, ejus causa; saltem, ut audiatur; ne tam procul frustrà venerit. Sperat enim uno colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri. Est puella quædam nobilis, domina Catherina, ducis Suffolchiensis filia, ex sanguine regio, eoq; nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in testamento, ut si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex eo, comes Herfordiensis, juvenis, ducis Somersetensis filius, suscepit filium, et multi putant ex stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis. Se enim clàm inter se contraxisse, et advocato sacrificatore, et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse nuptias. Ea res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sunt veræ nuptiæ, puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diù vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi pater, ora Deum, ut rempublicam nostram, et ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi pater, vale. Vale, dulce decus meum.

Saluta meo nomine uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallenum, D. Wikium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum.

Salisberiæ, 7. Febr. 1562,

Ex Anglia. Tui nominis studiosissimus,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè doctissimo, D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

P. S. Regina Elisabetha, omnem nostram monetam

auream, argenteamque ad pristinam probitatem restituit, et puram, putamq; reddidit: opus planè regium, quodq; tu mireris tam brevi tempore potuisse fieri.

Number 66.

TWO INSTRUMENTS.

The first is, *The promise under the great seal of Francis the IId. to maintain the succession to the crown of Scotland in the family of Hamilton, in case queen Mary should die without children. An original.*

Francois fils ainé du roy et dauphin de Viennois, a tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Nous ayant de la part de notre tres cher et tres honnoré seigneur et pere le roy de France, entendu que des le dixsepteme jour de Juin, il fit expedier ses lettres patentes, a notre tres cher et tres amé cousin, Jaques duc de Chateleraut, comte de Aran, et seigneur D'ammilton, chevalier de son ordre cy devant, gouverneur du royaume d'Ecosse; par les quelles lettres lui auroit accordé que en cas que notre tres chere et tres amée cousine, Marie reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans hoirs de son corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il succede à la couronne d'Ecosse, et pour y parvenir lui aider et subvenir, desirant notre dit seigneur et pere, que nous veuillons ratifier et approver ladite promesse par luy faite a notre dit cousin, scavoir, faisons que nous voulans singulierement entretenir et observer la foy et parole de nostre dit seigneur et pere, et lui obeïr en tout ce que lui est affecté et recommande, et aussi pour l'amour particuliere, que avons porté et portons a icelui notre dit cousin, et a sa maison pour l'affection quil a toujours demontrée envers notre dit seigneur et pere, et la bien de la couronne de France. Nous a ces causes, et autres a ce nous mouvant, avons entant que besoin seroit tant pour nous, que pour nos successeurs confirmé et ratifié, confirmons et ratifions par ces presentes, le contenu es dites lettres de notre dit seigneur et pere, du dix septieme Juin, mille cinq cent quarante neuf: promettant en bonne foi, avenant

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que notre dite cousine, la reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans hoirs de son corps, le laisser jouïr dudit royaume, et pour cet effet le secourir et aider selon le contenu des dites lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons signé les presentes de notre propre main, et a icelles fait mettre, et apposer notre scel. Donné a Paris le dixneuvieme jour d'Avril, l'an de grace mille cinq cent cinquante huit.

FRANCOIS.

Par monseigneur le dauphin,
Clausse.

The second is,

The promise made to the same effect, by Henry the IId. king of France, before queen Mary was sent out of Scotland. An original.

HENRY, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, a tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Scavoir faisons, que ayant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreables, et tres recommandables services, fait par notre tres cher et tres amé cousin, le comte de Aran, chevalier de nostre ordre, governeur du royaume d'Ecosse, a feu notre tres honnoré seigneur et pere, que Dieu absolve; depuis le trepas du feu roy d'Ecosse, dernier decedé, a nous et a la couronne de France consecutivement, et specialement pour avoir moyenné, l'accord du mariage de ma tres cher et tres amée fille et cousine la reine d'Ecosse, avec notre tres cher et tres amé fils le dauphin de Viennois. Pour de nostre part donner a connoitre a icelui notre dit cousin, l'affection que lui portons, et le grand desir que nous avons de le favoriser en toutes raisonnables choses qui le pourront toucher: lui avons par ces presentes en parole de roy, promis et promettons, advenant qu'il plus a Dieu appeller a sa part la dite reine d'Ecosse, sans hoirs issus de son corps, et que par voye de fait avenu que ses ennemis voulussent entreprendre l'empecher, lui ou les siens descendans, de lui par droite ligne, qu'ils ne vinssent a la paisible jouissance de la couronne du royaume d'Ecosse; comme plus proche d'icelle apres le trepas de la dite reine, que nous lui tendrons la

main a lui, et aux siens a l'encontre de leurs ennemis quelconque; et les aiderons et suporterons en toutes sortes, selon que requierent les anciennes alliances et confederations, qui ont de tout tems eté et sont encore entre nous, notre royaume et pais, et celui d'Ecosse. Et quant a l'article du traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit gouverneur, par lequel sommes tenus de le faire, tenir quite et decharger de l'administration, qu'il a euë et aura dudit royaume durant la minorité d'icelle notre dite fille et cousine, sans qu'il en soit autrement comptable, et du tout lui en faire bailler, et delivrer lettres de decharges de la dite dame, par le consentement de notre dit fils son mary, quand elle sera d'age. Nous derechef ratifions et approuvons le dit article par ces presentes, et nous obligeons ainsi le faire ensemble de l'en decharger envers la dite dame et son futur mary. En temoin de ce nous avons signé ces presentes, et a notre main, icelle fait mettre, et apposer notre scel. Donné a Paris, le dixseptieme jour de Juin, l'an de grace mille cinq cent quarante neuf, et de nostre regne le troisieme.

HENRY.

Par le roy,

De L'Aubespine.

Number 67.

Instructions to the queen's commissioners treating in Scotland. An original.

AFTER our right harty commendations, we have receyved your letters of the 11th of this mounth, and by the same do understande at good length your proceedings with the French commissioners hitherto, and in the ende of the death of the dowager of Scotland: for your advertisements whereof, we give unto you, on the queen's majesties behalf, most harty thanks: and like as her highnes doth well allowe your opinion for the signifying unto king Phillippes ambassadors, that we be entred into treaty with the French, and are in very good way towards accorde, and finde not things altogether so harde to be brought to composition as was sup- Paper-Office.

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posed; so hath her majestie taken order, that one shall be out of hande sent to declare the same unto them, with signification allso what her highnes hath harde of the dowagers death. As touching the other points of your letter wherin you require her highnes resolution; we have considered the same, and uppon reporte of our opinions to the queen's majestie, her highnes hath resolved as followeth; fyrst, in caise the Frenche commissioners uppon the understanding of the dowagers death, will nedes presse to returne back againe without following their commission; her highnes in that case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them by such good meanes as you can best devise, to contynue; if in the ende they will nedes breake of and returne, you shall agree they may so do, and thereuppon consulting with our very good lorde, the duke of Norffolke, and imparting the state of the case unto the lords of Scotland, to take order by their good advice howe the purpose intendyd for expelling of the French, and assuring of that realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may best and most spedely be brought to passe, which in case the French breake of from treatte, her majestie wolde sholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay or loss of time; the rather for that it appeareth by all advertisements, that the French seeke nothing so much as to wyn tyme, and draw forth matters in length to serve theyr purpose wythall; which must not be endured: and where your desire to know what you shall doe, if the French commissioners that be with you will require the presence of sume of theyr colleages in the town; her highnes thinketh as you doe, that the same is in no wise to be grauntyd, nor the said commissioners that be in Lyth to be suffered to issue or treate of this matter otherwise then is prescribed by your instructions. As touching the last point, where ye desire to know what shall be done in case the said French commissioners shall require assistance of such Scottyshemen as were of the French faction: her highnes thinks fyt, yf the same shall be demaunded, that the lords of Scotland be made privie thereunto; and in case

they and you shall not see sume reasonable cause of the contrary, her majestie thinketh, and so do we allso, that it may without daunger be grantyd, wherin nevertheless you may use your good discretions as you shall see may best stand with the advancement of his highnes service. And forasmuche as one Parrys, an Iresheman, who hath (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a fugitive out of this realme nowe a long time together, is as we understande come from the French, and hathe now yelded himself into the lorde Greye's hands: we hartely pray you, in case you may conveniently, to talk with the said Parrys, and understand of him what he can say touching the practises that hath byn attemptyd in Ireland, or any other thing concerning the state of the queen's majestie or her realme; and to lett us know what he is able to say therin, to the intent if his meaning and doing shall appere unto you to deserve the same, we may be sutors unto her highnes for his pardonne, and for suche farther consideracion of hym as his doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most hartely well to fare. From Grenewich the 15th of June, 1560.

Your assured loving friends,

Winchester. W. North, &c.
E. Clynton. Willm. Petre se.
Tho. Parrys.

Number 68.

The commission of the estates to move queen Elizabeth to take the earl of Arran to her husband.

Taken from the original now at Hamilton.

THE lords of parliament, and others under-written, havand consideration how the kingdome of England is joynt with this, Be an Dray March, how puissent it is; what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt, be the continual weirs betwixt the tuo nations; and be the contrar, how profitable there amytie may be to us, what welth and commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good

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divysed and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shal be followed, that is, sute made to the queen of England in the best manner, That it may please her majesty, for establishing of one perpetual friendship, to joine in marriage with the earll of Arran; being of the lawfull blood of this realme, and failzieing of succession of the queen our soverain ladies body, next his father, the dukes grace of Chastellerault declared be act of parliament, second person of the realme, air apparant to the crown; and for that purpose that honourable persons be sent in ambassate, fra them yn behalf of the estates. And to the effect the sute may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane parliament it shal be devised, that certain ambassadours be sent to her majesty fre the estates, to give her hieness thanks for the guid will she has ever born to this realme, sen she came to her crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free kingdom in thantiant liberty, sufficiently of late declared, be her support liberally granted for the relief therof; and for the guid quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her majestys means and labours; and they are withall to desire of her heeness to give strait commandments to her wardains and officers upon the borders, to continue with ours, for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of thift, with sic other things as are necessar for the common weel of this realme: and that the states give power to the lords of articles, and others underwritten, to devise sic commision and instructions as are necessar for that purpose, to be sealed and subscribed be six of the principals of every estate, whilk sal be as sufficient, as giff it were subscribed and sealed be the haill estates; and therafter the lords of articles, and ours under specified, to devise the instructione and commission tuching the heid of the marriage.

Number 69.

The queenes majesties answere declared to her counsell concerninge the requests of the lords of Scotlande. In sir W. Cecil's hand.

Her majestie reduced the answere into three points.

1. The first was, That where the three estats had sent the lords of Scotland to present their harty thanks to her majestie for the benefits receaved this last yere by her majesties ayde given to them. Her majestie is very glad to perceave her good will and chardgs so well bestowed as to see the same thankfullye accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonablie planted that produceth so plentifull fruct, with the which her majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any time the like cause shall happen wherin her friendship or ayde shall or may profit them for their just defence, the same shall not be wantinge. And although in former times it appeared that sondry beneficts bestowed upon divers of the nobilitye here by her majesties most noble father, had not such succes, nor was answered with like thankfullnes: yet her majestye doth nowe evidently se the cause thereof to be for that the meaneninge of her father's beneficts were interpreted, and supposed to be to the discomoditye of the land, and these her majesties be evidentlye sene to bend directlye to the safetye of that realme. And so the diversitye of the bestowinge hath made the diversitye in the operacion and acceptation of them. The 8th of Decemb. 1560. fol. 133. Caligula, B. 10.

2. The second point is, where the same estates have by their parlyament accorded, that suyte should be made for the mariage with her majesty of the earl of Arrayne; her majestye cannot interprete that motion to come but both of a good meaninge of the same estaits, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis kingdomes presently in amytye, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetuall amytye; and of a great good will of the same estates towards her majestye, offeringe to her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some daunger of the displeasure of the French kinge in so doinge: for answere hereunto, her majesty findeing herself not disposed presently to marry, (although

PART III. it may be that the necessitie and respect of her realme shall hereto hereafter constrayne her) wished that the earle of Arrayne should not forbeare to accept such mariage as may be made to him for his own weill and surety; and that all other means be used to the continewance of amytie firmly betwixt these kingdomes; whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realmes, and in a manner to continewe as good amytye therby, as by mariage: for it appeareth, that if every nobleman of Scotlande will well consider how necessarye the friendship of this realme is to that, for the preservation of their liberties; they shall chiefly for safeguard of themselves joyne together in concord with this realme, and so every one particularly minding his own suretye, of consequence the love and amyte shall be universall; by which means her majesty thinketh the amitye may be well assured, though no marriage be obteyned. And as to the person of the earle of Arrayn, her majesty surely hath heard a verie good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great woordinesse, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and lastly, her majestye thancketh the said lords for their paines and travell; and although she doubteth nether of their wisdome nor of the providence of the estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstracion of her hearty good will, her majesty cannot forbeare to require them not to forget the practises that be past, by such as before tyme sought the subverson of them; and nowe much more will doe it, if there maye be left any entry for corruption, be reward, or other scope of practise. And therefore her majesty wisheth that they all do persist, first in a good concorde, makinge their causes come amongst themselves; and not to dissever themselves in any factions, but to foresee well thinges before they chaunce: for that her majestie thinketh this prove verie true, that darts foreseen hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her majesties parte, there shall no reasonable thinge be neglected that may furder this comun action of defence of both the realmes against any common enemye.

Number 70.

A letter of the English ambassador to queen Mary of Scotland, for her ratifying the treaty of Leith.

PLEASETH it your majestie. The same may remember, that at my lord of Bedford's being in this court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalfe of the queen's majestie, our mistress, your good sister and cousyne, your ratification of thaccord latelye made at Edingborough in Scotland. Wherunto you made answer, amonge other things, that your counsell being not about youe; namely your uncle, my lord cardinall of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affaires, and also for that your majestie had not heard from your counsell in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear then verie shortlye; you could make us no direct answer therin. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your counsell heere; you would satisfie her majestie in the same. Sins whiche tyme, her majestie having knowledge of the coming to you of the lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her majestie judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in respect of his ranke and estimacion in your realme of Scotland, and allso for that he hathe the honour to be your majesties brother, and of good credite with you: and nothing doubting of your consultation with my said lord cardinall, and others of your counsell heere sins that tyme; her majestie hathe presentlie commanded and authorized me to put your majestie in remembrance therof againe; and to renew the demande of your confirmation of the said late accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this gentleman, bearer heerof, her majesties servant: by whom I beseeche you to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalfe. And uppon knowledge of your pleasure, to delyver me the said ratification; and of the tyme and place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your majestie will appoint me to come for that purpose. Paper-Office.

By demanding of this ratification, as the queen's majestie, my mistress, your good sister, dothe shewe the great desyre she hathe to lyve from hence forth in all assured good

ART III. love, peas and amytie with you and your realme; so, in her opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good will, to answer to the lyke for your parte agayne, so much as the stablishing the same by this knot of frendship which God hath appointed, and hath been cheif worker therin, for both your quyetnesses and comforts; being now the onlie refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God long to preserve your majestie in perfaict healthe, honour and filicitie. From Paris, the 13th of Aprill 1561.

Number 71.

A letter of Mary queen of Scotland, delaying to ratify the treaty of Leith. An original.

Monsieur Ambassadeur,

er- J'AY leu la lettre, que vous m'aves escrite par le gentil-te. homme present porteur, et pour ce j'étant sur mon partement de ce lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce plustot qu'à Reims, où j'espere d'estre au sacre de roy: je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant à lord James, qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers sa souveraine dame, que je suis, sans charge ou commission, qui concerne autre chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, monsieur ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa garde. Escrit à Nanci, ce 22 d'Avril 1562.

Vostre bien bon amy,

MARIE.

Number 72.

An original letter of the ambassador's to the queen, upon that affair.

er- IT maye please your majestie to be advertised, that have-ce. ing written this other lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your majestie; Mr. Somer, your highnesses servant, arryved heere from Nanci in Lorraine, from the queene of Scotland, with answer to my lettre, which (by your majesties commandment) I wrote to her, in such sorte, as I have advertised by my former, and therwith sent to

your majestie the coppies of my lettres to the saide queen and cardinall of Lorraine. Which her answer being by lettre, (having allso said as much by mouth to Mr. Somer) together with the said cardinall's answer; I send your majestie herewith. And though your majesties said servant used the best speech as he coude to get some direct answer of her, accordinge to her late promesses, putting her in remembrance of her words to my lord of Bedford, and to me at Fontainebleau: yet other answer nor direction, then is conteined in her letter, coude he not gette of her. And seinge she hath defferrid to make me further answer till my next meetinge with her, which she reckenith shall be at Reims, at the French king's sacre, as appearith by her said lettre; where she and the cardinal told Mr. Somer she mynded to be the 8th of Maye; for that it is said the sacre shall be the 15th; and for that your majestie hath commanded me, for some respects, not to be at it; I know not when I shall have the opertunitie and meanes to speake with the said queen for her answer. Therefore seing I cannot be at Reims, (as indeede, besyeds your majesties commandment, myne indisposition of my bodye will not suffer me to come there) and allso for that (as I heere) the said queen myndeth not to come into these partes this good while; if it wold please your majestie to send hither your lettres of credit directed unto her, therby to authorize Mr. Somer, your majesties said servant, to demande and receyve her answer therin, in myne absence, by reason of my sicknesse; I take it your majestie shall the sooner have her direct answer. If your majestie finde this good, it may please the same to send such your lettres hither with good speed, that the answer may be had before she departe agayne from Reims.

And though I thinke verily that her answer will be such as I have allready advertised your majestie she made to my lord James, (which is means to draw the tyme still into greater length) yet the same, or anye other, being made to your majestie by her self; you shall the better know how to proceede with her in the matter afterwards.

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The said queen of Scotland was accompaigned at Nancy with the dowager of Lorraine, (whom they call there Son Altezze) the duke and duchesse of Lorraine, monsieur de Vaudemont, the cardinalles of Lorraine, and Guyse, and the duke d'Aumalle. One of the chiefest cawses of her going thither from Joinville, (being 18 Lorraine leagues of) as I heere, was to christen monsieur de Vaudemont's yong sonne, borne lately at Mallegrange, a quarter of a league from Nancy.

I wrote to your majestie, by my letters of the 23d of this present, that the queen of Scotland wold authorize my said lord James, (as she had told him her self) to have the speciall charge of the government of the affaires in Scotland till her comminge thither; and would, for that purpose, give him commission under her seale. For which comission, and other letters, he left a gentleman of his with the said queen, to bring it after him to this towne. The gentleman is retourned from the queen with her letters, but hath brought no commission: and I understande that she hath now changed her mynd in that point; and will appoint none to have authorite there till she come her self. And as to such sutes and requestes as are made to her for benefices, and such other thinges as are to be bestowed; she will not dispose of any of them, nor make other answer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) she dothe, to bestowe the same upon some such as she shall see worthy of her favour and preferrmente, and upon others, to winne them the sooner to her devocion. The speciall cause why she hath changed her opinion for my lord James (as I heere) is; for that she coude by no meanes dis-swade him from his devocion and good opinion towards your majestie, and the observation of the league between your majestie and the realme of Scotland. And allso for that she, nor the cardinall of Lorraine, coude not winne nor divert him from his religion; wherin they used verie great meanes and perswasions. For which respects the said lord James deservith to be the more estymid of your majestie. And seeing he hath dealt so plainely with the queen his soveraine,

on your majesties behalf, and shewed himself so constant in religion, that neither the feare of his soveraine's indignacion coude waver him, nor great promesses winne him; your majestie may (in myne opinion) make good accompt of his constancy towardes you: and so deserveth to be well entertayned and made of, by your majestie, as one that may stand you in no small steade, for the advancement of your majesties desire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt so franckly and liberally with me, that I must beleeve he will so contynue after his return home. And in case your majestie wold now in tyme liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholding to your majesty; it wold, in my simple judgment, serve your majestie to great purpose. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of Maye, by the way of Diepe, and myndith to land at Rye: wherof I thought good to advertise your majestie, that it may please the same to give order for him and his company to be receyved and accommodated, as apertenith: which will be well bestowed upon him, for the good reporte he made of his late reception there, and of the great favour your majestie shewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland maketh accompt to fynd a good partie in her realme, of such as are of her religion. And amongs other, the earle of Huntley hath promysed, that having the duke on his side, he, with such other as he holdeth assured, will be able enough to make head to the contrary parte. And so hath he promised to bring greate things to passe there, for the queen's purpose and affection.

I understand, (and so gather partly by my said lord James own words,) that soone after his retourne home into Scotland, he shall marye the earle marshall's daughter.

As I have written heertofore to your majestie, that this realm was in danger of great unquietnes amonge themselves for religion; so the 28th of April, the same beganne to appeare in this towne. Certain gentlemen, and others, about a hundred, assembled together in a private house in the

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suburbes, where they had a sermon, and psalmes singing, as is used in all assemblies. Wherewith the people offended, assembled to great numbers, forced the walles of a garden joining to the house; made a great breach with such tooles as they coude gett, and would have entred with violence to have wrought their cruaulty uppon the gentlemen. The other seing none other remedye, their perswasions serving to litle effect with such an unruly sorte, defended themselves with such weapons and harguebouzes as they had provided against all events; and so slew 7 or 8 of the assailliants, and defended the house till the justice, and court of parliament of this town appeased and retyred the people. And the night following, the deffendants shifted themselfes away thence, without farther harme; hitherto nothing elles is done heerupon. What will ensue, it is to be feared. In the mean time the people murmure greatly at the slaughter. And the other parte are not a litle moved generally, to be so assaulted and molested, contrary to the king's edicts, which permitte all men to live according to their consciences, so they give none occasion of slander or offence to the people, or publique preaching, and that command all men not to reproach or injury the one the other, for their living in that sorte. Between these two partyes, the justice is so litle feared, and pollycy hath now so litle place, that greater things are to be feared, unlesse better and speedyer order be provided to appease all, then I can see towards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland hath hitherto no great devotion to Ledington, Grange, and Balnaves, wherof I am nothing sory. But she mindeth to use all the best meanes she can to wynne them to her, which she trusteth well to compasse.

And wheras I have advertised your majestie that the baron de la garde shulde cary this king's order to the king of Sweden: I understand now, that it is to the king of Denmarke, and not to the other.

Having written thus farre, I understand, that wheras it was determined that the king shuld have departed the 28th

of Aprill from Fontainbleau towards Reims to his sacre: the same is retarded, by reason that the queen mother is fallen sicke of a catarre. So that both his departure from thence, and the time of his sacre is now uncertain, and dependith wholely upon the said queen mother's recovery.

Though I take it that your majestie hath received from your ministers in Germany the pope's demand of the princes protestants of Germany, and their answer therunto; yett having recouvered the same here, I thought in my duety to send it to your majestie as I do heerewith. And thus I pray God long to preserve your majestie in health, honnour, and all felicitie. From Paris the first of Maye, 1561.

Your majesties humble,
and most obedient,
subject and servant,
N. Throkmorton.

Number 73.

A letter of bishop Jewell's to Bullinger, chiefly concerning the affairs of France, and the queen espousing the prince of Condé's cause.

Idem ad Bullingerum.

Salutem plurimam in Christo.

Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem literæ tuæ, scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii: quæ quamvis essent ὑπομεμψιμοιροι, et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantùm quod à te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixè requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego verò, mi pater, et domine colendissime, etsi minùs fortasse ad te sæpè scribo quàm velim, tamen quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te literas, alteras Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim à paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut sit, subsistant fortè in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, et postremò uti

Ex MSS. Tigur.

PART III.

spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorificè ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino. De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset fortasse putidum: omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferuntur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio qua spe moderandæ religionis, et recipiendæ Confessionis Augustanæ, moratus est principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse regis, cui illam, cùm regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Interea id egit, ut neptis sua, regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, et munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret: velle se, hac æstate, honoris causa venire in Angliam; et æternum amicitiæ fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine. Quid quæris? Putabant festivis colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facilè posse à strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea, regina nostra, cum subodorata esset rem omnem, et quid ageretur intelligeret; neque enim id erat adeò difficile, mutare consilium de profectione, à Guisanis paulatim alienari, et ad principem Condensem non obscurè inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indignè, consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliosè legatum nostrum, proposuit edicta publicè, reginam Angliæ insidias facere regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitâsse. Ista, regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sanè debuit. Statim apertè agere, legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent. Faciliùs, et minori jactura, sanguinis Christiani tota res posset transigi.

Et regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad principes; et nunc in aula legatus à Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur et impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus. Res Scotiæ de religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec sol, nec luna, nec hyems, nec ver, nec æstas, nec autumnus, satisfecit officium suum. Ita affatim, et penè sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sinè capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales ferè imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt è porcis, ex equabus, è vaccis, è gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non possimus multum conqueri. Sarisberiæ, 14 Augusti, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,
Jo. Juellus Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero summo pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 74.

An extract out of the Journal of the lower house of convocation.

ACTA in inferiori domo convocationis, die sabbati decimo tertio die Februarii, anno 1562.

DICTO die sabbati decimo tertio die Februarii, in inferiori domo convocationis cleri provinciæ Cant' post meridiem hora constituta convenerunt frequentes dominus proloquutor cum cæt. infra nominatis ubi post divini Numinis implorationem

Ex MSS. Gul. Petyt in the Inner-Temple.

PART III.

legebantur quidem articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cœtu quorum articulorum tenor talis est.

1. *That all the Sundays of the year, and principal feast of Christ, be kept holy-days, and other holy-days to be abrogate.*

2. *That in all parish churches, the minister in common-prayer turn his face towards the people, and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.*

3. *That in ministring the sacrament of baptisme, the ceremonie of making of the crosse in the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.*

4. *That for as much as divers communicants are not hable to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sicknes, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel and knock, that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinarie, within his jurisdiction.*

5. *That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying of divine service, and ministring of the sacraments, to use a surplice: and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.*

6. *That the use of organs be removed.*

Unde orta fuit superiorum, proband' vel reproband' disceptatio, multis affirmantibus eosdem à se probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos à se non probari; multisque aliis volentibus, ut eorum probatio, vel reprobatio, referatur ad reverendissimos dominos, archiepiscopum et prælatos, plurimis item protestantibus, se nolle ullo modo consentire, ut aliqua contenta in his articulis approbentur; quatenus ulla ex parte dissentiant libro divini et communis servicii, jam authoritate senatusconsulti publicè in hoc regno suscepto; neque velle, ut aliqua immutatio fiat contra ordines, regulas, ritus, ac cæteras dispositiones in eo libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ disputationes fieri à nonnullis doctis viris ejusdem domus, super approbatione, vel reprobatione dicti quarti articuli: ac tandem placuit discessionem, sive divisionem fieri votorum, sive suffragi-

orum singulorum; quæ mox subsecuta fuit: atque numeratis personis pro parte articulos approbante, fuerunt personæ 43; pro parte verò illos non approbante, neque aliquam immutationem contra dictum librum publici servicii jam suscepti, fieri petente fuerunt personæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis singulorum votis, sive suffragiis, prompta sunt quemadmodum in sequenti folio liquet et apparet.

DISPUTATORES.

Decanus Wygorn'.
Mr. Byckley.
Archid' Covent'.
Mr. Nebynson.
Mr. Pullen.
Mr. Cotterell.
Mr. Joh. Waker.
Mr. Laur. Neuell.
Mr. Talphill.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. Tremain.
Mr. Hewet.
Decanus Eliens'.

Pro parte articulos prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes subscripti; viz.

D. Proloquutor, decanus S. Pauli.		Mr. Joh. Walker	2
		Mr. Becon	-
Mr. Leaver	-	Mr. Proctor	2
Decan' Heref.	-	Mr. Cockerell	-
Mr. Soreby	-	Mr. Todd, archid' Bed.	2
Mr. Bradbriger	-	Mr. Crouley	-
Mr. Peder	-	Mr. Hyll	-
Mr. Watte	3	Decan' Oxon.	-
Decan' Lychef.	-	Mr. Savage	-
Mr. Spenser	-	Mr. Pullan	-
Mr. Beysley	-	Mr. Wilson	-
Mr. Nebinson	-	Mr. Burton	2
Mr. Bowier	-	Mr. Heamond	-
Mr. Ebden	-	Mr. Weyborn	-
Mr. Longlonde	-	Mr. Day	-
Mr. Tho. Lancaster	-	Mr. Rever	-
Mr. Ed. Weston	2	Mr. Roberts	5
Mr. Wysdon	-	Mr. Calphill	3
Mr. Sall	2	Mr. Godwyn	2

PART III.

Mr. Pratt	- - -	Mr. Kemper	- - -
Mr. Trenun	- - 2	Mr. Ronayer	- - -
Mr. Leaton	- - -	Mr. Abis -	- - -

Persons 43. Voices 58.

Pro parte articulos non approbante, ac protestante ut supra, sunt subscripti; viz.

Decan' West.	- - 2	Mr. Cheston	- - -
Mr. Coterell	- - 4	Mr. Chanddelor	- -
Mr. Latymer	- - 3	Mr. Bonder	- - -
Decan' Elien.	- - -	Mr. Just. Lancaster	- -
Mr. Heuwette	- - 3	Mr. Pondde	- - -
Mr. Ric. Walker	- 2	Mr. Constantyne	- -
Mr. Warner	- - -	Mr. Calberley -	- -
Mr. Tho. Whyte	- -	Mr. Nich. Smith	- -
Mr. Knouall	- - 2	Mr. Watson	- - -
Mr. Jo. Prise	- - -	Mr. Walter Jones	- 3
Mr. Bolte	- - 2	Mr. Garth	- - 3
Mr. Hughes	- - 3	Mr. Turnebull -	- -
Mr. Brigewater	- - 2	Mr. Robynson -	- -
Mr. Lougher	- - 3	Mr. Bell -	- - -
Mr. Pierson	- - -	Mr. Ithel -	- - -
Mr. Merick	- - -	Mr. Byckley	- - -
Mr. Luson	- - -	Mr. Hugh Morgan	- 3
Mr. Greensell	- - 3		

Persons 35. Voices 59.

Number 75.

Bishop Horn's letter to Gualter, concerning the controversy about the habits of the clergy.

Robertus Hornus Gualtero.

x MSS. 'igur.

LITERAS tuas, mi Gualtere primas, quàm amanter et jucundè acceperim, vel hinc existimare debes, quòd de Tigurinæ reipublicæ statu, in cujus fide ac liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amicissimorum, et de me optimè meritorum valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis evangelium lucubratio; scri-

bendi, ut tu ais, occasio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram scripturarum scientiam et pietatem conferre multùm judicem, et non solùm à tyronibus, quibus tu potissimùm studes, sed ab ipsis professoribus legendam existimem. In fœdere Gallico et Helvetico, perspicatiam Tigurinam probo, quæ astutias Gallicas, religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit et patefecit. Bernenses etiam vicinos vestros spero, suasu vestro ab inhonesto fœdere assensum cohibituros. De peste, quæ regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causa etiam ipsi pii affliguntur. Quà perculsus pater Bullingerus, quòd periculum evasit, debemus putare eum qui duriora tempora sustulit, fœlicioribus esse à Domino reservatum. Tuam domum à contagione tutam, divinæ clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis voluit otium, ascribo. Res nostræ ita se habent, quòd ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas papisticas timemus insidias. Primates papistici in publicis custodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Ansam minutam sanè et ejusmodi nacti. Controversia nuper de quadratis pileis et superpelliciis, inter nos orta, exclamârunt papistæ, non esse quam profitemur, unanimem in religione fidem; sed variis nos opinionibus duci, nec in una sententia stare posse. Auxit hanc calumniam publicum senatus nostri decretum, de profliganda papistica impietate, ante nostram restitutionem sancitum; quo sublata reliqua fece, usus pileorum quadratorum et superpelliciorum ministris remanebat. Ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli hoc decretum non potest; nisi omnium regni ordinum, quorum conspiratione atque consensu, nobis penes, quos tunc non fuit sanciendi vel abrogandi authoritas, pileis et superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne munera Christiana, per nos deserta, occuparent adversarii. Sed cum jam hæc res in magnam contentionem inter nostros devenerit, noster grex pusillus etiam in duas abierit partes; altera, ob illud decretum deserendum ministerium, altera non deserendum putet. Peto abs te, mi Gualtere, quod de hac controversia, quæ nos unà vexat, senseris ut quam primo

RT II. tempore scribas. Speramus certè proximis comitiis, illam decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clàm nituntur papistæ, ministerio nihilominus divino adhærendum esse judico; ne deserto eo, ac à nobis ea conditione repudiato, sese insinuarent. Quâ de re, sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; an hæc, quæ sic facimus, salva conscientia facere possimus. De vestra etiam ecclesia ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles ministros ex peste interiisse suspicor, per tuas literas scire vellem eorum nomina qui jam supersunt. Dominus Ihesus, magnus gregis sui custos, vos, et universam suam ecclesiam custodiat. In eodem vale. Datum è Fernomiano Castro, 16 calendis Augusti 1565.

Tuus in Christo,
Rob. Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo theologo, domino Gualtero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro dignissimo.

Number 76.

Bullinger's letter to bishop Horne, concerning that question.

Bullingerus Horno, de re vestiaria.

(Eadem iterùm recurrit, aliâ manu.)

Reverendissimo patri in Christo, domino Roberto Horno, episcopo Wintoniensi (in Angliâ) vigilantissimo; domino suo plurimùm observando, salutem.

SS. Quæ de controversia de vestitu ministrorum, inter vos exorta, scribis, reverende in Christo pater, priùs etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis nostri amici, literis intellexeram, quibus nuper respondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, et adhuc dolet, hanc occasionem adversariis datam esse, quâ inter se committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem veritatis doctrinam prædicant. De causa verò non libenter pronuntio, cùm illius circumstantias omnes fortassis non nôrim. Ne tamen abs te, et aliis amicis requisitus, officio deesse videar; hic repetere

volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abetum datis comprehendi. Probo zelum eorum, qui religionem ab omnibus sordibus papisticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud prophetæ, quo Deus monet, ut scortationes à facie simul et uberibus removeamus. Interim vestram quoque probo prudentiam, qui, ob vestitum, ecclesias non putatis deserendas. Etenim cùm finis ministerii sit ædificatio et conservatio ecclesiæ, magna circumspectione nobis opus est, ne ab hoc declinemus; dum causam per se bonam et sanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum est qualis jam sit ecclesiæ conditio, quam deserere statuimus, sed quæ futura sit nobis ab illa digressio. Si meliorem fore certum est, abire licet. Sin verò deteriorem fore, non aut malis atque infidis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere possum, hoc unum quærunt adversarii vestri communes, ut vobis ejectis, ut papistas vel ab his non multum diversos Lutheranos doctores et antistites surrogent. Quod si fiat, non modo ecclesiasticus ordo omnis turbabitur et crescet cæremoniarum ineptissimarum numerus, verum etiam idola reducentur (quæ à Lutheranis defendi scimus) ἀρτολατρεία circa sacram Domini cœnam instaurabitur, privata absolutio et sub hac confessio auricularis paulatim subrepet, et infinita alia fient, quæ et publicè turbas dabunt, et privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vas in vestro ministerio eò usque profecisse ut plurimos habeatis in toto regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis et loci homines, qui de religione optimè sentiant, et doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ superstitionibus et idololatriæ fenestras aperit, et quibus intolerabile erit tyrannidem in ecclesia denuò stabiliri, quæ populi infelicis conscientias gravet. Hi certè, si vos ab ecclesiæ gubernaculis discedatis, adversariorum libidini subjicientur, qui examina et inquisitiones cùm publicas tum privatas adversus eos instituent, hæreseos et seditionis accusabunt, et per hos totam causam religionis, reginæ serenissimæ et totius regni proceribus suspectam atque invisam reddent. Horum ergo artibus et improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis sponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno studio et labore quæsiverunt.

ART III. Quod si quis me rogat, an ergò eos probem, qui decreta ejusmodi ut primi fecerunt, vel nunc observata volunt, quibus sordes papisticæ salventur? Ingenuè et libere respondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, si ex nostrorum numero sunt: aut malo dolo ecclesiarum libertati insidias struunt. Etsi feces istas tanquam ad Dei cultum et conscientiarum animæque salutem necessarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum esse judicarem, quàm ut ecclesias pium populum ab ingenua fidei professione abstrahi per illos pateremini. Sed cùm in decreto illo disertis verbis (ut tu scribis) cautum sit, quadratos pileos cum superpelliceis absque omni superstitionis opinione retineri debere, simul vestris quoque conscientiis cautum esse puto. Licebit enim vobis, ni fallor, facti vestri rationem reddere, superstitionis opinionem ex omnium animis removere et protestatione uti, quæ scandalum omne è medio auferat. Interea serenissima regina et illustrissimi proceres regni edoceantur, moveantur et excitentur, ne reformationem tanta cum laude et magna cum totius orbis admiratione institutem, fecibus et sordibus ejusmodi inficiant atque polluant, neve vicinis ecclesiis Scoticis et Gallicis aliquam præbeant dissensionis suspicionem. Scio à quibusdam quæstiones moveri multas de regum et magistratus authoritate, an quid hujus ille in ecclesia statuere, et an horum decretis ministri obedire debeant? At ego disputationes illas in hac causa non ita necessarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) superstitionis opinio per ipsius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum est, ne coram populo de magistratus authoritate disputando, alicujus turba authores, simus. In comitiis verò regni publicis, ista tractari debent legitime, et qui per occasionem privatim reginam et principes officii admonere possunt, ii suis partibus minime deesse debent. Hac reverende in Christo pater, habui quæ nunc scriberem, quia meam in hac causa sententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus conscientiam gravare, sed cavendum puto nedum nobis aut existimationi nostræ privatim consulimus, ecclesias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc sententiam à Pauli mente non dissentire puto,

qui omnia omnibus fieri solitus fuit, ut quàm plurimos lucrifaceret: et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci à religione Christiana alienaret, et illius ministerio commodius uti posset: qui tamen alibi nihil prorsus dandum esse putavit iis, qui in circumcisione salutis meritum collocabant. Sed non errabant in ejusmodi controversiis, quotquot ædificationem ecclesiæ suorum consiliorum atque actionum scopum atque finem constituerint. De rebus nostris non est quod scribam. In anni superioris lue ita nobis prospexit Dominus, ut neminem ex ministrorum numero amiserimus. In agro unus et alter obiit. Velitatur nunc et nonnihil pestis in urbe nostra, sed non sævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigessimum Novembris electorum principum conventus erit Wormatiæ in quo de pace per Germaniam constituenda deliberabitur et quædam de episcopis et eorum reformatione tractabuntur quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus suo Spiritu omnium mentes et consilia regat ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honestissimam matronam, mea plurimum salvere jubet. Vale pater in Christo reverende. Tiguri 3 Novembris, anno 1565.

Quæ Stamphii manu hoc loco scripta, p. 135.

Number 77.

Bullinger's answer to Humphreys and Sampson on the same subject.

Ornatissimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, dominis meis et fratribus in Christo.

Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, viri ornatissimi et fratres charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi te lamentari, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quæstionem in via videtur amissa. Ego verò, mi frater, tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere literas. Tu enim rogabas tunc duntaxat, quæ esset mea de re vestiaria, de qua con-

RT II. tenditur in Anglia, sententia? Ad hanc quæstionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi, nam brevibus meam sententiam dicere potui; dum sciebam beatæ memoriæ D. Pet. Martyrem et Oxoniæ et hic eandem quæstionem tractavisse sepius et fusius, quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini verò in literis ad te Sampsonem fratrem datis, meæ quidem sententiæ factam tum quidem fuisse mentionem, et ut iterum uno et altero verbo quod sentio dicam: nunquam probaverim, si vestrum jubeamini exequi ministerium, ad aram crucifixi imagine oneratam magis quàm ornatam, et in veste missatica hoc est in alba et in copa quæ à tergo quoque ostentet crucifixi imaginem. Attamen ex literis allatis ex Anglia intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi vestitu contentio, sed quæstio est, an liceat ministris evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum et vestem albam, quam vocant superpellicium, qua minister ornatus, à vulgo discernatur? Et an oporteat ministerium vel stationem sacram citius relinquere, quàm hujusmodi uti vestibus? Respondi ad hanc quæstionem præteritis nundinis reverendo viro D. Rob. Horn. Vintoniensi episcopo et quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulò ante Symmysta et affinis meus charissimo D. Rod. Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos et ad alios fratres nostros mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrûmque judicium de re vestiaria expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me literis significabatis, en habetis in illa epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quàm vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis amplius supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia rebus succonsulat afflictis.

Quæstiones tu humanissime frater, proposuisti, plures verò ejusdem argumenti Sampsonus contexuit. Licet verò pro mea simplici ruditate nunquam probaverim vel in tot distrahi quæstiones et nodis injectis in precationibus, quæ alioqui simpliciores per se, brevibus et satis perspicuè expediri potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas, ut hac quoque in re vobis dominis meis observandis et fratribus

charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam attamen retusam magis quàm acutam, inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benignè hæc à me pro vestro amantissimo accipiatis et de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, et nihil magis supplex peto à Domino, quàm ut ab ecclesia amoveat contentiones, quæ ab initio et semper plurimum nocuere veræ pietati et ecclesiam pacatam et florentem lacerarunt.

Cùm quæritur, an debeant ecclesiasticis leges præscribi vestiariæ, ut iis distinguantur à laicis? Respondeo ambiguitatem esse in verbo debere. Si enim accipiatur pro merito et quod ad salutem pertineat acquirendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos legum auctores. Si verò dicatur posse hoc fieri decori, ornatusque vel dignitatis et ordinis gratia, ut sit similis quædam observantia, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod apostolus vult, episcopum vel ministrum ecclesiæ κόσμιον, compositum inquam vel ornatum esse, non video, quid peccet, qui veste hujusmodi induitur, aut qui hujusmodi veste uti jubet.

2. An ceremonialis cultus Levitici sacerdotii sit revocandus in ecclesiam? Respondeo. Si pileus et vestis non indecora ministro qui superstitione caret jubeatur usurpari à ministro, nemo sanè dixerit verè Judaismum revocari: preterea repeto hic, quod ad hanc quæstionem video respondisse D. Martyrem, qui cum ostendisset sacramenta veteris legis fuisse abolita quæ nemo debeat reducere in ecclesiam Christi, quæ habeat baptisma et cœnam sacram, subjecit: fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut propriè sacramenta dici non possent: faciebant nostræ ad decorem et ordinem et aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia ego et revocari, et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt apostolos pro pane et convictu credentium faciliori mandâsse gentibus, ut à sanguine et prefocato abstinerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam legalia et Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis institutas esse ad alendos ministros, nemo nostrum ignorat. Psalmos et hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus manifestum est,

PART III.

quod Levitæ quoque usurparunt. Utque hoc non omittam. Dies habemus fastos in memoriam Dominicæ resurrectionis et alia: an verò illa omnia erunt abolenda quia sunt vestigia legis antiquæ? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quædam ex iis usurpari non possint: hæc ille.

3. An vestitum cum papistis communicare liceat? Resp. Nondum constat papam discrimen vestium induxisse in ecclesiam, imò discrimen vestium constat papa esse longè vetustius. Nec video, cur non liceat vestitu non superstitioso sed politiore et composito, communicare cum papistis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret et templa omnia deserere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti baptismo, non recitare symbolum apostolorum et Nicænum, adeòq; abjicere orationem Dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab eis ullas ceremonias. Res vestiaria ab initio reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, et retinetur adhuc non lege papistica, sed vi edicti regii, ut res media et politica.

4. Ita sanè, si ut in re civili utamini pileo aut veste peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaismum, neque monachismum; nam hi volunt videri à civili vita separati, et constituunt meritum in peculiari sua veste. Sic Eustathius, Sebastiæ episcopus, damnatus est, non simpliciter propter peculiarem vestem, sed quòd in veste religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangrens. conc. canones, Laodiceni, et VI. synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli sunt persuasi, redolere hoc papismum, Judaismum et monachismum, admoneantur, et rectè de tuis instruantur. Quod si importunis quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora sibi onera imponant, regiamque majestatem irritent, denique multos fideles ministros in discrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.

5. An qui libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi regii edicti, hac servitute, implicare se et ecclesiam salva conscientia possint? Respondeo; Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur clametur et contendatur de re vestiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occasio regiæ majestati, ut liberum amplius illis non relinquat, qui libertate hactenus usi sunt; sed clamoribus non necessariis irritata, mandet sumere vestes

illas ecclesiasticas, vel cedere statione sua. Mirum sanè mihi videtur (meam sententiam, viri ornatissimi, et fratres charissimi, dixerim) quòd vobis persuadeatis, salva conscientia vos et ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subjicere non posse, et non potius expenditis si in re politica et indifferenti uti nolitis et perpetuè contendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti et vos et evangelicos subjiciatis, qui statione vestra cedentes, lupis exponitis ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æquè ac vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An verò ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, quando occasionem datis, ecclesiam pluribus etiam gravioribus quoque oneribus opprimendi? Num ignoratis, quod multi quærant, quomodo erga evangelicam prædicationem sitis affecti et quales vobis successuri sint, quid de illis sperandum sit? [BOOK VI.

6. An vestitus clericalis res sit indifferens? Videtur sanè res indifferens, cùm sit civilis; decoris, ornatus, ordinisque habeat rationem, in quo cultus non constituitur.

Hæc, brevibus, ad tuas volui respondere, doctissime et dilectissime mi frater Laurenti. Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampsonis nostri quæstiones; in quibus exponendis, fortè ero brevior.

1. An vestitus peculiaris, à laicis distinctus, ministris ecclesiæ unquam fuerit constitutus; et an hodie, in reformata ecclesia, debeat constitui? Respondeo: In veteri ecclesia fuisse peculiarem presbyterorum vestitum, apparet ex Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ Theodoreti, lib. II. c. 27. et Socratis, lib. VI. c. 22. Pallio in sacris usos esse ministros, nemo ignorat, qui veterum monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideò antea admonui, diversitatem indumentorum non habere suam originem à papa. Eusebius rectè testatur, ex vetustissimis scriptoribus, Johannem apostolum Ephesi petalum, seu laminam gestâsse pontificalem in capite: et de Cypriano Martyre testatur Pontius Diaconus, quòd cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, ei priùs birrum dedisse, Diacono verò dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse indutum. Præterea, vestis candidæ ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus: ac certum est, Christianos, cum à Gentilismo ad ecclesiam converterentur, pro toga induisse pallium. Ob

PART III.

quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus librum de pallio conscripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujusmodi plura proferre possem, nisi hæc sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici ministris, et eos ea uti posse consuetudine qua apostoli. Sed cum regia majestas pileum tantummodò et candidam injicit vestem, in qua cultum (quod sæpe jam repetitum est) non constituit; eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc essent res ecclesiæ, usurpatæ sint absque superstitione et culpa; optarem, bonos ministros in his, non ut in prora et puppi, quemadmodum dicitur, totum constituere religionis profectum: sed dare aliquid tempori, et de re indifferenti non odiosius altercari, sed modestè indicare, hæc quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim esse apostolicæ simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen à disciplina in amictu non sunt alieni.

2, 3. An vestium præscriptio conveniat cum Christiana libertate? Resp. Res indifferentes admittere aliquam præscriptionem, adeoque coactionem, ut sic dicam, quoad usum et non quoad virtutem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod natura sit indifferens, ut nimirum conscientiæ obtrudatur, et ita animis injiciatur religio. Tempora certè et loca sacrorum cœtuum, certè habentur inter indifferentia; et tunc si hic nulla sit præscriptio, quanta obsecro confusio conturbatioque oriretur?

4. An ullæ ceremoniæ novæ, præter expressum præscriptum verbi Dei, cumulari possint? Resp. Me non probare, si novæ cumulantur ceremoniæ: sed aliquas institui posse non negârim, modò in eis non statuatur Dei cultus, sed instituantur propter ordinem et disciplinam. Christus ipse encœniorum ceremoniam, vel festum servavit, nec tamen lege præceptum legimus hoc festum. In summa, propositionum, vel quæstionum de re vestiaria, potior pars de eo disputat, an de vestibus leges in ecclesia condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac quæstionem revocat ad genus. Quidnam, videlicet, de ceremoniis statuere liceat? Ad has propositiones paucis respondeo: Me quidem malle nullas ceremonias, nisi rarissimas, obtrudi ecclesiæ: interim fateor non posse statim leges de his, fortè non adeo necessarias, aliquando etiam in-

utiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque et schisma excitare in ecclesia, quando (videlicet) superstitione carent, et res sunt sua natura indifferentes. BOOK VI.

5, 6. An ritus Judæorum antiquatos revocare, religioniq; idololatrarum propriè dicatos, in usus reformatarum ecclesiarum liceat transferre? De hac quæstione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis ritibus. Nolim verò ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab erroribus, transferri in ecclesias reformatas. Rursus verò et ex adverso quæri potuerat; An recepti ritus, remota superstitione, propter disciplinam et ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

7. An conformatio in ceremoniis necessariò sit exigenda? Respondeo, Conformationem in ceremoniis, in omnibus ecclesiis fortè non esse necessariam. Interim, si præcipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non impia, ob eam ecclesia non videtur deserenda. Non fuit in ritibus conformitas in omnibus, in ecclesiis vetustioribus: quæ tamen conformibus utebantur ritibus, eas non vituperabant conformitate carentes. Facilè autem credo, viros prudentes atque politicos, conformationem rituum urgere, quòd existiment hanc facere ad concordiam, et quòd una sit ecclesia totius Angliæ; in qua re, si nihil impii videatur, non video, quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis vos hostiliter objiciatis?

8. An ceremoniæ, cum aperto scandalo conjunctæ, retineri possint? Respondeo, Scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus: non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud verò acceptum, et ultrò accersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc, an vos, sine grandi scandalo dato, deserere possitis ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rem indifferentem.

9. An ullæ constitutiones ferendæ in ecclesia, quæ natura sua impiæ quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad ædificationem nihil faciunt? Resp. Si constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult regia majestas, ferendæ sunt potiùs, quàm deserendæ ecclesiæ. Si enim ædificatio ecclesiæ hac in re potissimum est spectanda; deserendo certe ecclesiam, plus destruxerimus ecclesiam, quàm vestes induendo. Et

PART III. ubi abest impietas, nec læditur conscientia, ibi cedendum non est, licet aliqua imponatur servitus. Interim verò queri rursus poterat, An sub servitutem justè referamus rem vestiariam; quatenus facit ad decorem et ordinem?

10. An in reformatis ecclesiis à principe præscribendum in ceremoniis, sine voluntate et libero consensu ecclesiasticorum? Resp. Si voluntas ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda principi, nunquam fortè sapientissimi et piissimi reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat et Josias, aliique principes boni, Levitas et ministros ecclesiarum redegissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi episcopos à consultationibus ecclesiasticorum. Nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vendicare, quam sibi usurpârunt contra principes et magistratus in papatu. Nolim item tacere episcopos, et consentire ad iniqua principum instituta.

11, 12. Postremæ quæstiones duæ propiùs ad rem ipsam accedunt: An consultius ecclesiæ sic inservire; an propterea ecclesiastico munere rejeci? Et, an boni pastores, jure ob hujusmodi, ceremonias neglectas à ministerio avocari possint? Resp. Si in ritibus nulla est superstitio, nulla impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi: dabo sanè, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitutem ipsis imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, stationem vel ministerium propterea esse deserendum, et locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est, vel ineptioribus ministris. Præsertim, cum maneat libera prædicatio, ... possit obtrudere servitus, et multa hujusmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ videbantur mihi dicenda de propositis quæstionibus, non nescius alios pro sua eruditione, longè elegantius meliusque potuisse excussisse; sed quia ita voluistis, ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his et calamum et judicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his conscientiam urgere volo, examinanda propono; moneoque, ne quis in hac controversia, ex φιλονεικίᾳ, sibi faciat conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes, per Jesum Christum, Dominum meum, ecclesiæ suæ servatorem, caput et regem, ut probè quisque apud se expendat: utra nam re plus ædificârit ecclesiam Christi, si propter ordinem et decorem

vestibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, et hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque ecclesiasticam nonnihil facienti; an verò propter rem vestiariam deserere ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non à lupis manifestis, saltem à ministris minus idoneis et bonis? Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere, et sequi quod facit ad gloriam ejus, et ecclesiæ pacem et salutem.

Valete in Domino, unà cum omnibus fidelibus ministris. Orabimus sedulò pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiatis et faciatis, quæ sancta sunt et salutaria. D. Gualtherus amicissimè vos salutat, et omnia fælicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipsum reliqui etiam ministri. Tiguri, calendis Maii, anno Domini MDLXVI.

Vester ex animo totus,
Heinrychus Bullingerus, sen.
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ minister.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampson, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas, nam quæ habetis excerptæ sunt ab auditoribus ejus, et non sunt scripta à D. Bibliandro. Habent autem hæredes ejus commentaria, ejus manu scripta in Biblia, vel in vetus Testamentum. Indignissimè enim ferunt, si quid sub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipsus non scripsisset. Interim gratias ago humanitati tuæ, quòd de his nos fecisti certiores. Et literæ tuæ 16 Febr. scriptæ, demùm mihi traditæ sunt 26 Aprilis.

Number 78.

Humphreys and Sampson's letter to Bullinger, insisting on the question.

Laurentius Humfredus, et Thomas Sampson, Bullingero.

Cum diligentia tua clarissimo viro, in scribendo nobis probatur: tum verò ex literis illis quidem humanissimis incredibilis tuus erga nos amor et ecclesiæ nostræ singularis cura, et concordiæ ardentissimum studium apparent. Quæstiones aliquot misimus P. T. in quibus jus et quasi cardo totius controversiæ sita esse videbatur. Quibus est à P. T. accurate responsum, nobis tamen quod bona cum venia tua dicimus, non est satisfactum plenè. Primò respondet P. T. ministris

Ex MSS. Tigur.

PART III.

præscribi posse leges vestiarias ut iis colore et forma à laicis distinguantur: esse enim civilem observationem et apostolum velle episcopum esse κόσμιον. Cum hæc quæstio de ecclesiasticis hominibus proposita sit et ad ecclesiasticam politiam spectet: quomodo habitus ministrorum singularis et clericalis civilem rationem habere possit, non videmus. Ut episcopum κόσμιον esse debere fatemur; sic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambrosio referimus. Et ut in vestitu honestatem dignitatem, gravitatem requirimus: sic decorum ab hostibus religionis nostræ peti negamus. Secundo respondes hypotheticè, si pileus et vestis non indecorus ministro, et quæ superstitione carent, jubeatur usurpari à ministris Judaismum propterea non revocari. At qui esse potest vestis simplici ministerio Christi conveniens, quæ theatro et pompæ sacerdotii papistici serviebat? Neque enim (quo nostri P. T. persuadent) pileus quadrus et vestitus externus solummodo exiguntur, sed etiam sacras vestes in templo adhibentur, superpelliceum, seu alba chori vestis, et capa revocantur. Quæ Judaismi μιμήματα quædam esse et simulacra non modò papistæ ipsi in suis libris clamitant, sed P. T. non semel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris nostri colendissimi testimonio libenter subscribimus. Sed quæ ille affert exempla ad decorum et ordinem pertinent, hæc ecclesiam deformant, εὐταξίαν perturbant, condecentiam omnem evertunt: illa lumini naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigiosa et monstrosa sunt; illa juxta Tertulliani regulam meras necessitates et utilitates habebant: hæc inepta prorsus et supervacanea et inutilia sunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono usui conducentia, sed verius ut ejus Martyris nostri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii sunt execrantur, splendide inservierunt. Vestium ecclesiasticarum discrimen hodiè receptum papisticum esse inventum ipsi papistolæ gloriantur, Othonis Constitutiones loquuntur, liber pontificalis ostendit, oculi et ora omnium comprobant. Usus decimarum stipendii, baptismi, symboli, et ante papam natum divino instituto inolevit. Et cum Augustino quicquid in aliqua hæresi divinum ac legitimum reperimus, id et approbamus et retinemus, non inficiamur. Hoc autem quia er-

roris illius ac dissensionis proprium est, veraciter cum eodem arguimus et certamus. Quod addis, rem vestiariam ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, in ea rursus vestri minimè vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis serenissimi regis Edvardi VI. temporibus absque superpelliceo cœna D. pure celebrabatur: et copa quæ tum lege abrogata est nunc publico decreto restituta est. Hoc non est papismum extirpare, sed denuo plantare, non in pietate proficere sed deficere. Vestitum sacerdotalem civilem esse ais: monachismum, papismum, Judaismum redolere negas. De superpelliceo quid blaterent papistæ habitus clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, et quo religioni dicatus sit prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde monachatum ac papismum sapit illa ambitio et pharisaica peculiaris, vestitus præscriptio; cui illi hodiè non minùs quam olim monachi suæ cucullæ tribuunt. Neq; verò simul ac semel irrupit sanctitatis et meriti opinio, sed paulatim et sensim irrepsit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quod veremur, idcircò non ab re cunctamur, et principiis obstare conamur. Cum Eustathio non facimus, qui in veste religionem collocabat, imò his, qui singulares et religiosas vestes sui sacerdotii indices superstitiose requirunt adversamur. Idem etiam de canone consilii Gangrensis et Laodicei et synodi VI. dicendum, et libertate in qua hactenus stetimus, discedere servitutis autoramentum quoddam esse judicamus. Neq; hic nos rimati sumus, non odiose contendimus, acerbas contentiones semper fugimus, amicas consultationes querimus; lupis non cedimus, sed coacti et pulsi loco inviti et gementes discedimus. Fratres et episcopos Domino suo stare et cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem at frustra petimus. In ritibus nihil est liberum; nec ad hoc nobis R. M. irritata est: sed aliorum suasu ducta est: at nunc demum non quod ecclesiæ expedit, sed quod aliquo modo licet, constituatur: et quod omninò impium non est, id sanum et salubre, id sacrosanctum, id ratum habeatur. Ceremonias et vestes sacerdotum, cum religionis testes, et professionis notæ sunt, non civiles esse: et ab hostibus omnium consensu mutuò corrogatæ, non decore haberi: et anathemate divino notatæ et piis omnibus invisæ

ART III. et malis ac infirmis admirabiles, sine quibus nec nos ministros esse, nec sacramenta ritè administrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec possunt nec debent. Habebant patres antiqui suas vestes, sed nec episcoporum omnium proprias, nec à laicis distinctas. Exempla D. Joan. et Cypr. singularia sunt. Sisinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium omnium erat Christianorum commune, ut Tertull. in illo libro refert, et T. P. alibi notavit. Chrysostomus candidæ vestis meminit, sed obiter: nec commendat sed reprehendit: et fuerit ne sacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea alba an munda nondum constat. Certè ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, et ab Hieronymo opponitur sordidæ et apud Blondum de pallio laneo fit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi potest. Vestium præscriptionem non congruere cum Christiana libertate Bucerus est testis, qui discrimina vestium propter præsentem abusum in ecclesiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis Antichristi, propter pleniorem professionem libertatis Christianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones omninò tollenda esse censuit. His enim verbis usus est in epistola ad D. Alasco, qui totus noster fuit. Cedendum quidem est tempori sed ad tempus: sic ut progrediamur semper, regrediamur nunquam. Absit ut nos vel schismata in ecclesia altercando odiosius seramus vel fratribus hostiliter nos opponendo camerinam moveamus: absit (optime Bull.) ut res natura indifferentes impietatis damnemus: absit ut sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus, vel ex φιλονεικία conscientiam faciamus. Hæc fex et fermentum papisticum (nobis crede) omnis dissensionis est seminarium: illud tolli et sempiternâ oblivione obrui ac sepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extent antichristianæ superstitionis vestigia. In papatu primatus et supercilium semper nobis displicuerunt: et tyrannis in ecclesia libera placebit? Libera synodus apud Christianos controversiarum nodos hactenus solvit: cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum et vocum regnat libertas, ibi valet et viget veritas. Breviter sic habeto rectum, primum hæc nobis potissimum fidem facere,

authoritatem scripturarum, simplicitatem ministerii Christi, puritatem ecclesiarum primarum et optimarum quæ brevitatis studio commemorare supersedemus. Ex altera verò parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus ecclesiæ, vel universalis consilii (quæ August. regula est) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta sunt hactenus, exempla particularia esse, et universale non confirmare. Ad hæc statuimus, non quicquid est licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, sed quod ecclesiam ædificat omni modo, esse introducendum; nec quod alicui licet, id statim licere omnibus. Doctrinam castam et incorruptam (Deo sit laus) habemus: in cultu, religionis parte non infima cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Christum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recipimus? Cur à papistis hostibus, et non à vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem est nostrarum ecclesiarum confessio: eadem doctrinæ et fidei ratio: cur in ritibus et ceremoniis tanta dissimilitudo? tanta diversitas? Signatum idem: cur signa adeò variant ut dissimilia vestris, similia papisticis existant? Idem dux et imperator Christus: cur in ecclesiis nostris vexilla hostilia eriguntur? quæ si homines Dei, si ullo zelo prædíti essemus, jamdudum detestati et demoliti fuissemus. Nos de episcopis semper optimè sensimus: illorum fastum candidè interpretati sumus: cum nos olim crucem cum ipsis exosculantes et nunc eundem Christum prædicantes, idem jugum suavissimum una ferentes ferre non possunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter vestem persequuntur? cur victu ac bonis spoliant? cur libris publicè traducant? cur causam malam posteritati, edito scripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma nostrum schedulas aliquot D. Buceri, P. Martyri, et nunc tuas privatas ad nos literas nobis invitis et insciis in publicum emiserunt. Unde dum suam causam agunt, suum honorem vendicant, nec ecclesiæ nostræ, nec fratribus suis, nec dignitati tuæ, nec seculo alteri consulunt. Quo autem P. T. intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, sed magni ponderis esse controversiam, nec de pileo solum, aut superpelliceo certari,

PART III. sed de re gravissima nos conqueri, stipulas aliquot, et quisquilias papisticæ religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ est tua prudentia, reliqua conjicias: et remedium aliquod, quæ est tua pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem D. nostrum Jesum Christum, ut hos tumultus et turbas consopiat, gloriam suam asserat, operarios in vineam extrudat, quo messis læta et uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut consilio paterno, scripto publico, literis privatis agas, satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni viri nondum persuasi tollerentur, ne quos doctrinæ firmissimum vinculum copulavit, ceremonia Romana disjungat. Salutem dicas Gualtero, Symlero, Lavatero, Wolphio dominis colendis, quibuscum si contuleris, et nobis et ecclesiæ universæ gratissimum feceris. D. Jesus suo Tugurio, vestro Tyguro benedicat. Julii anno 1566. Hæc paucis et raptim, et non tam respondendi, quam admonendi causa, quæ in hanc sententiam dici possent infinita sunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri possit, sed quid fieri debeat, pronuncia.

Tuæ paternitatis studiosissimus,
Laurentius Humfredus.
Tho. Samson.

INSCRIPTIO.

Domino Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ ministro fidelissimo, et doctissimo domino in Christo nobis colendo.

Number 79.

A paper of other things complained of besides the heads.

MSS. gur. 1. ALIQUOT maculæ quæ in ecclesia Anglicana adhuc hærent. In præcibus publicis et si nihil impurum, est tamen species aliqua superstitionis papisticæ. Quod non modò in matutinis et vespertinis, sed in sacra etiam cœna videre est.

2. Præter musicæ sonos fractos et exquisitissimos, organorum usus in templis invalescit.

3. In administratione baptismi, minister infantem alloqui-

tur, ejus nomine sponsores, parente absente, de fide, de mundo, carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent, baptizatus cruce signatur.

4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est.

5. In cœna Dominica sacræ vestes, nempe capa et superpelliceum adhibentur; communicantibus genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula azima substituitur.

6. Extra templum, et ministris in universum singulis, vestes papisticæ præscribuntur; et episcopi suum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant et utrique pileos quadros, liripippia, togas longas à papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt.

7. De nervo autem religionis, disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgam ecclesia nostra: nulla censura exercetur.

8. Conjugium ministris ecclesiæ, publicis regni legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum liberi, à nonnullis, pro spuriis habentur.

9. Solennis desponsatio fit, more rituque papistico, per annulum.

10. Mulieres adhuc cum vero purificantur.

11. In regimine ecclesiastico, multa antichristianæ ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in metropolitani curia, eadem ferè omnia prostant: pluralitates sacerdotiorum, licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando sacris, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, et in quadragesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est.

12. Ministris Christi libera prædicandi potestas adempta est: qui jam concionari nolunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.

13. Postremò, articulus de spirituali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat, et tollebat realem præsentiam in eucharistia, et manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edvardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud vos evulgatur mutilatus et truncatus.

Laur. Humfredus.

PART III.

Number 80.

Bullinger's answer to their letter, declining to enter further into the dispute.

Præstantissimis viris, D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, dominis meis colendis, et fratribus charissimis.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

EPISTOLAM illam vestram, domini colendi et fratres charissimi, quâ meæ respondetis de re vestiariâ scriptæ, accepimus et legimus. Cujus quidem hæc summa est, vobis per nostram nondum esse satisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum fratres: ideoq; mox ob initio, si bene meministis, in epistola mea hæc præmisimus verba. Ergo, si nos audire vultis, nostrumque judicium de re vestiaria expenditis, sicut ultimis ad me literis vestris significabatis, en habetis in illa (Gualtheri) epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quam vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia, rebus graviter afflictis, &c. His jam nihil ampliùs addere nec possumus, nec volumus. Respondere quidem ad vestra objecta possemus, sed nolumus ullam novis et nunquam terminandis disputationibus, scriptis vel rixis dare occasionem. Toties scripsit Martyr beatæ memoriæ, cum adhuc viveret in Anglia, sed subinde aliæ atque aliæ suggerebantur, repetebanturque quæstiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis scriptisve satisfieri posse. Rogati à vobis fraterno amore suasimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur ecclesiæ fore fructuosum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti istis vestibus et cum oviculis creditis manere, quàm rejectis illis pariter et ecclesias deserere. Ulterius progressi non sumus, neque ullas papisticas sordes ac superstitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis disputationem ne suscepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controverterentur, et de quibus nunc quoque scribitis, de re magni ponderis esse apud vos controversiam, nec de pileo solum aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima vos conqueri. Licet qui-

dem epistola illa nostra ad vos privatim de re vestiaria conscripta, insciis nobis à quibusdam sit edita, speramus tamen pios et prudentes viros, nostra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eò detorsuros, quasi videamur ea nunc approbare et restituere velle, quæ pii omnes libris nostris edocti, dudum nos reprobare norunt. Suasimus vobis, sicut et ante nos et una nobiscum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, ceu honestum et utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus nos totum Deo negotium, petimusq; ut nobis non sitis ingrati, sed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, vestri amantes in Domino, quem ex animo oramus ut ipse, qui fidelis est custos ecclesiæ suæ, dissidium hoc infelix, inter vos exortum, componat et ecclesiæ suæ tranquillitatem reddat. Memineritis fratres, obsecramus, per Dominum Jesum, à ministris ecclesiarum non tantùm requiri, ut sint fidelis sermonis tenaces, sed ut simul sint prudentes domûs Dei dispensatores, rationem habentes familiæ, temporumque; et ut patienter, per charitatem, plurima sustineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, deniq; per omnia ecclesiam in pace conservent, nimiaq; sua vehementia, morositate aut importunitate, bonum quidem sed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis et pietati. Dominus Jesus concedat vobis Spiritum suum sanctum et dirigat vos in viis suis. Valete fratres.

BOOK VI.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr.
anno Dom. 1566.

Heinrychus Bullingerus,
Suo et sui GUALTHERI nomine.

Number 81.

Bullinger and Gualter's letter to the earl of Bedford, pressing him to find a temper in that matter.

Illustrissimo principi, domino Francisco Russello, comiti Bedfordiensi, &c.

CUM anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, illustrissime

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ART III. princeps, contentionem aliquam de habitu ministrorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa, aliquid majoris mali daret ecclesiæ: et ideò a viris piis et cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum et pium videbatur. Monuimus enim ecclesiarum ministros, ne ob rem non adeò magni momenti ab ecclesiis discederent, et eas lupis et superstitiosis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepisse diximus. Audimus enim, jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendi, sed insuper multa alia obtendi piis ministris; quæ merum papatum redolent, imò in Antichristi schola primùm fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quòd epistolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excusam esse fertur, et quod multi nostrum de re illa vestiaria judicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ controversa esse tunc nesciebamus, et quæ à nobis nunquam probari potuerunt. Et sanè justissimi doloris causa est, nostri nominis authoritate pios fratres gravari, quibus consilium et consolationem afferre, potiùs quam molestiam exhibere studuimus. Magis tamen utimur scandali consideratione, quod inde exortum esse non dubitamus. Auget præterea tristitiam nostram infælix ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum semper amaverimus, non possumus non sanguinariis fidei purioris hostibus totis animis commoveri, quòd quæ vixdum liberata nonnil florere cæperat, nunc intestinis dissidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, illustrissime princeps, nobis satis constat, et non pauca extant tuæ pietatis argumenta, ad tuam excellentiam literas dandas esse putavimus, de qua pii quàm plurimi spem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud serenissimam reginam, et in comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, causam ecclesiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque suum patrocinium piis fratribus neget; qui etsi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illos ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuisse; constat et hoc unum quærere, ut ecclesiam ab omnibus papisticis

sordibus repurgatam habeant. Neq; illi modò nobis digni videntur, quos pii principes propugnent; sed tota hæc causa ejusmodi est, ut qui in illa agenda studium et industriam adhibent, eo facto demùm testentur, se principum nomine dignissimos esse. Dignatus est illustres viros eo honore Dominus, ut ecclesiæ ejus nutritii dicantur, quæ sanè laus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atq; dignitatem longè superat. Erunt autem fideles nutritii, si ecclesiam non modo ex hostium manibus eripiant, verbi prædicationem instaurent, et sacramentorum usum legitimum restituant; verùm et caveant, ne quæ Christo adduci debet sponsa incontaminata, ullo superstitionum fuco defœdetur, aut ullis ritibus à simplicitate Christiana, alienis à fide sua suspectam reddat. Et notum est illud Hoseæ, qui ecclesiam Israeliticam monebat, ut scortationes non ab uberibus modò, verùm et à facie removeret. Quare etiam atq; etiam excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, et sua authoritate apud serenissimam reginam et regni proceres efficere studeat, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione instituta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformatio, novis sordibus et postliminio reductis infelicis papatûs reliquiis, deformetur. Nam si id fiat, non modo inconstantiæ nota multis in regno vestro florentissimo inuretur, verumetiam infirmi offendentur, et vicinis Scotiæ, Galliæ et Flandriæ ecclesiis, scandalum præbebitur sub cruce adhùc laborantibus, cujus pœnæ in authores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imò ex vobis exemplum sument vicini veritatis evangelicæ hostes; ut ipsi quoq; in suis locis, liberiorem verbi Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ superstitionis legibus circumscribant. Liberiùs hæc dicimus, illustrissime princeps, non quòd de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus, sed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti faciamus, partim rei necessitate adducti tuæ Excellentiæ, et multis aliis de hac causa cogitandi materiam et occasionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum optimum maximum, ut ecclesiæ suæ miseratus, pacem illi restituat, et T. E. tuiq; similes principes suo Spiritû regat, suo favore protegat, et potenti

PART III. brachio servet, ad sui nominis gloriam, et ecclesiæ suæ conservationem. Tiguri, 11. Sept. anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentiæ deditissimi,
Henricus Bullingerus, sen. et
Rod. Gualtherus.

Number 82.

Bullinger and Gualter's letter to bishop Grindal and bishop Horn, for quieting the dispute.

Reverendis in Christo patribus, D. Edmundo Gryndallo Londoniensi, et D. Roberto Horno Wintoniensi, in Anglia episcopis, dominis nostris colendissimis et fratribus charissimis.

Reverendi in Christo patres, domini honorandi, et fratres charissimi.

MSS. gur. Rumore perlatum est ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum literis fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, epistolam illam meam, quam mense Maio, privatim scripsimus ad honorandos fratres nostros D. Humfredum, et Sampsonem, vobisque dominis nostris et fratribus charissimis, certo consilio exposito à nobis in epistola ad vos data communicavimus, typis excusam atque publicatam esse, eaque ipsa illos confirmari, qui jam multos ecclesiarum ministros pios et doctos exauthorarunt, non quidem ob rem vestiariam, de qua illa nostra scripta est epistola, sed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controversos. De quibus in epistola illa nostra nullam instituimus disputationem, quos tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, sed extinguere studio vestri sancto sumus conati, et non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis constabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, si nostra epistola raperetur eo quasi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re vestiaria scriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa sententiæ nostræ erat, ecclesias Christi sanguine

redemptas, minimè esse deserendas propter pileos et vestes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, sed propter ornatum politicè usurpari jubeantur. Nunc verò audimus (utinam rumore falso) requiri à ministris novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Articulos verò esse hujusmodi, cantum in templis figuratum, et peregrina lingua, unà cum strepitu organorum esse retinendum, mulieres in casu necessitatis privatim posse et debere baptizare infantulos. Magistrum quoq; infantem oblatum baptismo rogare debere quæstiones, olim catechumenis propositas. Baptizantes item ministros usurpare exufflationes, exorcismos, crucis characterem, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cæreos et hujus generis alia: docendum esse ministris in perceptione cœnæ Domini, opus esse genuflexione (quæ speciem habet adorationis) nec panem frangendum esse communiter, sed cuilibet communicaturo crustulam ori ejus esse inserendam à ministro. Neq; verò modum spiritualis manducationis, et præsentiæ corporis Christi in sacra cœna explicandum, sed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in metropolitani curia, prostare eadem, pluralitates videlicet sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non residendo, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, et in quadragessima, et rebus similibus, pro quibus nisi quis numeret, nihil impetret. Uxores item ministrorum longè arceri à suis maritis, quasi impura sit conjugatis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum est apud Antichristi sacerdotes; aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publicè contradicere, quinimò adigi ministros, ne hanc camarinam siquidem ministrare ecclesiis velint, commoveant. Adeoq; omnem potestatem gubernationis, vel potestatis ecclesiasticæ penes solos esse episcopos, neq; ulli pastorum permitti, in rebus hujusmodi ecclesiasticis, suam dicere sententiam. Quæ si vera sunt, plurimum sanè non nobis tantum, sed piis omnibus dolent. Oramusq; Dominum, ut hæc ex sancta Christi ecclesia quæ in Anglia est eluat, prohibeatq; ne quisquam episcoporum, statione sua, dejiciat pastorem ullum hujusmodi articulos recipere, aut approbare

PART III.

respuentem. Et quanquam de vestra pietate sinceritateque hoc nobis persuasissimum habeamus, vos si quid hujus (tam crassa enim extare apud vos vixdum credimus,) in usu apud vos est, ferre et dissimulare ea ad comitia usq; regni opportuna, quibus de superstitione abolenda commodè et prudenter agatur: et si qui sint, qui nostra illa epistola abutantur ad quoslibet abusus confirmandos, vel tamen non esse de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur vestram pietatem per Dominum Jesum, ut seriò de emendandis expurgandisq; istis similibusq; superstitionibus, si ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum vestris coepiscopis, et aliis viris sanctis prudentibusq; consultetis, nosq; ab injuria illa nobis ab aliis irrogata, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim istos articulos, uti perlati sunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus insuper humanitatem vestram, ut hæc à nobis benigno animo accipiatis, qui vestræ concordiæ item sinceritatisq; in religione regni Anglici sumus studiosissimi, et vobis in Christo addictissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, et servet ab omni malo. Salutate obsecramus nostro nomine reliquos reverendissimos patres in Christo, dominos meos honorandos et fratres charissimos Angliæ episcopos. Reginæ quoq; serenissimæ semper nos commendate. Cui optamus vitam longævam, et gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumq; et tutum regnum, et omnia quæ pii exoptare possunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb. 6.

anno 1556.

Vestræ pietatis humanitatisque deditissimi,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, et Rod. Gualtherus, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ pastores et ministri.

Number 83. BOOK VI.

A letter of bishop Grindal and bishop Horn, giving a full account of their sense of all the matters complained of in the church of England.

N. B. Ex præcipuis.

Edmondus Londinensis, et Robertus Wintoniensis, Bullingero Heinricho, et Rodolpho Gualtero.

ERUDITAS vestras literas ad Humfredum, et Sampsonem, commodissimas, cum ad nostras de vestibus animorum dissensiones, tum verborum altercationes atq; pugnas sedandas, quam libentissimè accepimus: acceptas non sine certo consilio, parcentes tamen fratrum nominibus, typis excudi atq; publicari curavimus, indeq; fructum amplissimum quidem, quemadmodum sperabamus, percepimus. Nam sanis quidem viris, universum evangeliorum institutum et finem spectantibus, multum profuere: ministros certè nonnullos qui de deserendo ministerio propter rem vestiariam, quæ jam sola controversa ac causa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitarunt, persuasos ne ecclesias fraudari suâ operâ sinerent propter tantillum, confirmatosq; reddidere, et in vestram sententiam retraxere: plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes distrahebatur, piosq; ministros contumeliâ afficiebat, quasi concordia quadam illis placavere ac leniere temperantia: morosis vero et nihil preterquam quod ipsi statuerant preferre valentibus, etsi non satisfecere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proscindere, pacemq; ecclesiæ salutarem sermonibus suis morologis non adeò audacter fædare, velint aut possint. Ex hiis quosdam esse exauthoratos, etsi sua ipsorum culpa, ut gravius in illos nos dicamus, fatemur et dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non sint multi sed pauci, et ut pii, certè non adeò docti. Nam solus Sampsonus inter eos qui exauthorati sunt, et pius pariter ac doctus est habendus. Humfredus verò ac doctiores omnes in sua hactenus statione manent. Quod si vestra epistola typis excusa ac publicata fuisset, ut qui exauthorarunt, confirmarentur: si qui exauthorati sunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controversos et non ob rem solam vestiariam de Ex MSS. Tigur.

PART II. gradu fuissent dejecti suo: si deniq; illa epistola quæ verbis adeò exquisitis ac perspicuis solam controversiam vestiariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non possit ad approbandos articulos vobis ignotos, nec dum apud nos Dei gratia controversos (nam nulli nobis cum fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venerunt nisi hic solus vestiarius) reperitur: luculenta profectò vobis, quos amamus, colimus, et in Domino honoramus, fuisset injuria: sicut nobis manifesta adhibita est calumnia ab hiis qui authores fuerunt vanissimi rumoris, quo ad vos perlatum fuit, à ministris ecclesiæ requiri novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Summa controversiæ nostræ hæc est: nos tenemus ministros ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publica authoritate jam præscripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, præsertim cum ut res indifferenter proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus obedientiam usurpari jubeantur: et omnis superstitionis cultus ac necessitatis quod ad conscientias attinet, opinio, legum ipsarum præscripto et sincerioris doctrinæ prædicatione assidua quantum fieri potest amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant vestes has in numerum τῶν ἀδιαφορῶν, jam haud quaquam esse ascribendas, impias esse, papisticas ac idolatricas: et propterea, omnibus piis uno consensu ministerio cedendum potius, quàm cum istis pannicullariis papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, ecclesiæ inservire: licet doctrinam sincerissimam prædicandi nec non omnimodos errores seu abusus sive in ritibus, sive in doctrina, sive in sacramentis, sive in moribus, per sanam doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, summam habeamus libertatem. Istud istorum immaturum consilium accipere non possumus: quomodo nec impetuosas eorum adhortationes, quibus pacem ecclesiæ indesinenter pro suggestu disturbant, religionemq; nostram universam in periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam istiusmodi suis celeusmatibus, serenis. reginæ animum alioqui ad optimè merendum de religione propensum, irritari, proh dolor, nimium experti sumus: procerum quorundam animos, ut de aliis taceamus, ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes,

hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certò certius scimus. Ecquis dubitare possit, quin papistæ hujusmodi occasione nacti virus suum pestilentissimum eructabunt, evoment in evangelium Jesu Christi, ejusq; professores omnes; in spem erecti, jam opportunitatem se habere suam sibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodsi inconsulto nostro consilio acquiesceremus, ut omnes cunctis viribus impetum in vestes legibus constabilitas, contra legem faciamus, perimamus, ac deleamus omnino, aut simul omnes munia exuamus. Papisticum profectò vel saltem Lutherano-papisticum haberemus ministerium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum optimum maximum testamur, fratres in Christo honorandi; neque culpa evenisse dissidium hoc nostra, nec per nos stare quo minùs istiusmodi vestes è medio tollerentur: imò sanctissime, licet, juremus, laborasse nos hactenus quanto potuimus studio, fide, diligentia, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres postulant, et nos optamus. Verùm in tantas adducti angustias, quid faciendum? (multa vobis, qui prudentes et ad pericula ecclesiis impendentia perspicienda estis sagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) nisi ut cùm non possumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino quod possumus. Hactenus rem controversam et plenam dissensionis inter nos, ut se habet, exposuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum est, accipite: Falsissimus omnino est ille rumor, si tamen rumor dicendus sit (novimus enim prudentiam vestram, ac modestiam, et laudamus) de receptione, subscriptione, et approbatione novorum istorum articulorum quos recensetis. Nec magis sunt veraces, qui sive scriptis suis epistolis, sive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere sunt conati. Pleriq; enim omnes isti articuli falsò nobis objiciuntur; perpauci recipiuntur: horum omnino nulli, fratribus sua subscriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, unà cum strepitu organorum, retinendum non affirmamus imò prout decet, insectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorcismos, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et ejus generis alia, ex legum præscripto nunquam revocanda, penitùs amisit ecclesia Anglicana. Mulieres posse aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo

ART III.

modo prorsus assentimur. In cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere, cuilibet communicaturo non ori inserere, sed in manus tradere: modum spiritualis manducationis, et presentiæ corporis Christi in sacra cœna, explicari leges jubent, usus confirmat, oblatratores nostri Anglo-Lovanienses nefariis suis scriptis testantur. Uxores ministrorum non arcentur à suis maritis; cohabitant, et eorum conjugium apud omnes (semper papistas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minùs falsum est quod oblatrant, penes solos episcopos omnem esse ecclesiasticæ gubernationis potestatem, etsi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujusmodi ecclesiasticis in synodo deliberari solet. Synodus autem indicitur, edicto regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius regni parliamentum, ut vocant. Adsunt episcopi, adsunt etiam totius provinciæ pastorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures sunt quàm episcopi. Hii seorsum ab episcopis de rebus ecclesiasticis deliberant, et nihil in synodo statuitur, aut definitur, sine communi eorum ac episcoporum, aut majoris saltem illorum partis, consensu et approbatione: tantùm abest ut pastoribus non permittatur in hujusmodi rebus ecclesiasticis suam dicere sententiam. Recipimus quidem, seu potiùs toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, et crucis characterem in baptismo, in cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem; et regiam facultatum curiam, quam metropolitani vocant. Quæstiones istiusmodi non adeò accommodè infantibus proponi, etsi ex Augustino videantur emendicatæ, publicè profitemur, ac sedulò docemus. Crucis charactere frontem jam baptizati infantis notare; etsi minister palàm conceptis verbis, profiteatur signatum esse cruce infantulum, solummodò in signum quòd in posterum illum non pudebit fidei Christi crucifixi, idque ex vetustiori ecclesia videatur transumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in sacræ cœnæ perceptione, quoniam ita lege constitutum est, permittimus: ea tamen expositione, seu potius cautione, quam ipsi genuflexionis authores, viri sanctissimi ac martyres Jesu Christi constantissimi, adhibuerunt, diligentissimè populo declarata, promulgata, inculcata. Quæ sic ad verbum habet: Etsi in

Libro Precum statutum sit, ut communicantes genuflectendo sacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quasi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, sive sacramentali pani ac vino, sive ulli reali et essentiali præsentiæ ibi existenti, naturalis carnis et sanguinis Christi. Nam sacramentalis panis et vinum permanent in ipsis suis naturalibus substantiis, et propterea non sunt adoranda: id enim idololatria horrenda esset, omnibus Christianis detestanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac sanguinem Salvatoris nostri Christi attinet, in cœlo sunt et non sunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Christi est, pluribus quàm uno inesse locis, uno atque eodem tempore. Facultatum curia, undecunque est allata, regia est, non metropolitani. Is enim prudens pater, doctus et ad syncerissimam religionem propagandam optimè affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorsus eluere peroptat, conatur, satagit. Et licet omnes hujus fiscalis curiæ, sicut etiam alios nonnullos abusus, è medio tollere non possumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis insequi, ad tartara usque, unde prorepserunt, detrudere non desistimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi: unicuique licet ministro omnibus istiusmodi articulis, cum modestia et sobrietate contradicere. Pastores verò articulos istos nobis falsò impositos, rceipere aut approbare nolentes, statione sua haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, solummodo prǫ re vestiaria, extinguatur. Nosque operam dabimus, quantum fieri possit, quemadmodum in proximis comitiis fecimus, et si nihil obtinere potuimus; ut omnes errores et abusus ad amussim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos fratres gratiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem oramus ut vos incolumes, vestrasque ecclesias in pace quam diutissimè conservet. Salutate nostro nomine fratres ac symmistas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarii,
anno Dom. 1567.

Vestrum omnium
amantissimus,
Edm. London.
Robertus Winton.

PART III.

Addita manu Winton' sequentia.

Obsecro et ego vos, fratres mihi plurimùm observandi, (ignoscatis mihi) quod literis vestris ad me privatim scriptis, hactenus non responderim; nec pro doctissimis vestris commentariis ad me transmissis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim. Neque illud ipsum mihi vitio vertant Wolvius et Lavaterus; quos quæso, meo nomine, plurimùm salutate, et me apud illos excusate. Scio enim officii mei rationem hoc ipsum efflagitâsse; et vos, illosque, meas literas desiderâsse, non dubito. Efficiam posthac, scribendo vos omnes expleam, et officio non desim meo. Salutem etiam à me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Halero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Christo.

Totus vester,

Robertus Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimis viris, D. Henricho Bullingero, et D. Radulpho Gualtero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ pastoribus fidelissimis.

Number 84.

A letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, concerning the debates in parliament relating to the succession, and the heats in the disputes about the vestments.

Johannes Juellus Henricho Bullingero.

S. P. in Christo.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Proximæ literæ meæ, ornatissime vir, cum Londinum tardiusculè venissent, et Francofordiam ad Nundinas proficisci non possent, re infecta, domum ad me reversæ sunt. Quod nonnihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in istas accidat. De prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me literis proximis, prolixè tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de synodo illa Francofordiensi, ut de re obscura, et controversa, egregiè satisfactum esse, et fateor et gaudeo. Res nostræ ecclesiasticæ, publicæ privatæque, eo loco nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant, et turbant, quantum possunt: et habent fautores, etsi

non ita multos, plures tamen multò quam velim. Et quamvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes scribant, tamen nescio, quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaq; dum illis respondeo, ne me esse otiosum putes. Habuimus, proximis istis mensibus, comitia totius regni: illis ego, propter valetudinem, interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt leges de religione, quibus papistarum obstinata malitia, atq; insolentia in officio continentur. Actum etiam est de successione; hoc est, cui familiæ jus regni debeatur, si quid Elizabethæ reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea contentio mensem unum, atque alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum regina ea de re agi nollet: reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, et utrinque magnis viribus, et studiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris? Effici postremò nihil potuit: regina enim, ut est fœmina imprimis prudens et provida, hærede semel designato, suspicatur, aliquid sibi creari posse periculi. Nôsti enim illud, Plures orientem solem adorant, quam occidentem. De religione, causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti: fratres autem quidam nostri ita ea de re pugnant, ac si in ea una omnis nostra religio versaretur. Itaq; functiones abjicere, et ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt, quàm tantillum de sententia decedere. Neq; aut tuis aut D. Gualtheri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum piorum virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc tempore, gravioribus quæstionibus exerceri. Unus tantùm quispiam è nostro numero, episcopus Glocestrensis, in comitiis apertè, et fidenter dixit, probari sibi Lutheri sententiam de eucharistia; sed ea seges non erit, spero, diuturna. In Hibernia, nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nostris regibus. Johannes quidam Onclus, spurius, conscripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ est, quàm periculi. Is enim longè abdit sese in paludes, et solitudines; quo noster miles consequi facilè non possit. E Scotia vero, (quid ego dicam? aut tu, quid credas?) horrenda atq; atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejusmodi sint, ut credo, vix possint, tamen ex aula usq; ad me scribuntur, et passim jactantur, et cre-

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duntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hisce admodum diebus, unà cum uno famulo, quem habuit à cubiculis, interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foràs, et relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista commemorare. Si ista vera sint, ne sint; tamen si sint, quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In præsentia, nec ea, quæ ita constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea, quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare. Julium nostrum, audio, Tiguri esse mortuum: mitto tamen ad illum viginti coronatos Gallicos, si vivit, ut illi cedant: sin autem, quod nolim, est mortuus, ut in epulum scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, et alios: imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum; ad quem, hactenus homo ingratus, nunquam scripsi. Quæso, ut hosce omnes, atque etiam in primis D. Rodolphum, et D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas. Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime.

Sarisberiæ in Anglia.
Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Christo,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho Bullingero ministro ecclesiæ Tigurinæ fidelissimo, viro longè doctissimo, et domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 85.

A letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the state affairs were in, both in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Netherlands.

Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu.

ix MSS. igur.

Quid ego dicam, doctissime vir et clarissime pater? Et pudet et dolet, pudet primum, non scripsisse sæpius, deinde dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos pervenire, obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut scholam Tigurinam, aut

rempublicam, aut illam vestram humanitatem tantam tam citò ex animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, et in sinu gero, et te imprimis, mi pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad literas attinet, equidem, preterquam, anno illo superiore cum peste, et lue omnia ubique clausa essent, cæteroquis nunquam intermisi scribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri, vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis literis superioribus, quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse à Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed missa ista facio. Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quos tibi, pro tua pietate, magis cordi esse, sat scio. Promum de religione omnia domi Dei optimi maximi beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant, et impediunt quantum possunt et evulgatis libris, nescio, quo meo, fatone, dicam, an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse otiosum. Offertur mihi inter alia, causa illa ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus: sed nostra lingua, utpote nostris hominibus. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, et ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur, magis magisque in singulos dies delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri phasma, quod nunc nuper dedit: et tibi, et de illo libro, et de omnibus literis tuis, et de omni tua humanitate, ago gratias. Respublica domi, forisque, terra marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, et nostri vicissim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cœpta sunt, id egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod verè è lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim spe-

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rabat religionem unà posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potiùs in authorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant. Flandricum autem vulgus, digressis nostris mercatoribus, et emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indignè ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari. Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostris utuntur legibus. In illam insulam, papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit hominem sceleratum, et callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret. Erat enim Hibernus, qui gentem feram et silvestrem contra nos religionis causa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus, et vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superos, Acheronta movere. In Scotia ita ut volumus. Regina sola missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus. Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi pater. Dominus Jesus te quam diutissimè servet superstitem, et incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wikium; ad quos singulos darem literas si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obruerer negotiis.

Sarisberiæ, in Anglia, calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,
tibique deditissimus,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

Number 86.

The end of a letter written to Zurich, setting forth the temper of some bishops in these matters.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

—Nunc patres illud petimus, et in Christo contendimus etiam atq; etiam, (quod vos ultrò benignissimè polliciti estis) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, et si non ampliùs aliquid

potestis, saltem hoc tantùm exoretis: ut et in fratres nostros in Anglia remanentes mitiores esse velint, et fæces ex suis ecclesiis removentes, si non adjuvare, at saltem tolerare, et ipsorum factis connivere velint. Atq; vos reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigorniensi, et Dunelmensi episcopis, in vestris epistolis, pollicitis justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis: atque illis, simul et fratribus ministris studentibus repurgationi ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc, si pro vestra summa dignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modò non fatigabimus alias ecclesias novis precibus, sed et nos, omnesq; verè pii, omnia vobis ob pacem et concordiam, vestra opera, ecclesiæ partam debebimus; et Deus optimus maximus vobis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, æternam coronam tribuet. Amen. BOOK VI.

Vestræ dignitatis studiosissimi,
Georgius Witherus,
Johan. Bartholottus, } Angli.

Number 87.

Bullinger and Gualter's letter to the bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich, interceding for favour to those whose scruples were satisfied in those matters.

Intercessionales pro tolerantia.

Londinensi, Wintoniensi, et Norvicensi, episcopis in Anglia.

Reverendi viri domini colendissimi, et fratres in Domino charissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet vos ab omni malo.

Quo vehementius favemus vobis reverendi domini et fratres charissimi, eò dolemus gravius dissidere vos à fratribus aliquot, viris doctis, in Anglia gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitis, quod frequentius eadem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus et accepimus vestram in hanc causam excusationem: interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis ecclesiæ doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia ecclesiarum, in Mariana persecutione pro- Ex MSS. Tigur.

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batos homines, quorum fide et diligentia ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sævissimis istis tempestatibus conservatæ sint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque et in tetras retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernia ecclesiarum ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant, quàm illi ipsi qui in Anglia sustinent persecutionem. Illos autem episcopi sui beneficio, et apud regiam M. interventu agere in summa tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si episcopi qui in Anglia sunt apud R. majestatem intercederent, fore ut et ipsi tranquillè sibi commissas possit retinere et gubernare ecclesias. Et quod hac in causa præcipuum est, episcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere causam afflictos et dejectos. Nam agnoscere eos ecclesiam rectius constitui et constitutam gubernari sine illis cæremoniis ritubusve et institutis, quam cum illis, adeò ut ipsismet afferatur optio, malint ipsi sibi ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis oneratam sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliquescat manifestissimè, quod in regni comitiis, non semel episcopi petierint, à R. M. ut tollantur illa et purgatior ornatiorque aut minus saltem onerata fiat ecclesia. Quæ cum ita sint reverendi domini et fratres charissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubiè vestra pietas ad consultandum, quomodo fieri possit commodè et maturè, ut fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, et ne ita gravi persecutione premantur, quin potius R. maj. clementia tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia ecclesiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis, vos alioqui peritissimos omnis pietatis et æquitatis, urgeamus; tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut si apud R. M. afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorsus adimere potestis, pro Christiana charitate, illis omnem vestram fidelem impendatis operam; et nostram hanc fraternam admonitionem boni consulatis, solitoque amore nos vestri amantissimos prosequi pergatis. Valete, honorandi domini.

Tiguri, 26 Augusti,
1567.

Bullingerus et Gualterus.

Number 88.

A part of a letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland.

——CONTENTIO illa de ecclesiastica veste linea, de qua vos vel ab Abele nostro, vel à D. Parkhursto audisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: atque utinam omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia papatus et è templis, et multò maximè ex animis omnium auferri possent. Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest. Res Scotiæ nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt: nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alii domi remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex papistarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat: nam de religione adversariam habet magnam partem, et nobilitatis, et populi: et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus rex, abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et regem reginamq; juvaret veteratorio consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper hactenus abstinuisset à missis, et ultrò accessisset ad conciones, ut se populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulsuram postridie, factus repentè confidentior, sumptis animis, noluit longiùs dissimulare. Accedit ad templum; jubet sibi de more dici missam. Eodem ipso tempore, D. Knoxus, concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, magna frequentia clamare in idolomanias, et in universum regnum pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempestatibus, et ventibus fluctibusq; concussa et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, et rebus omnibus inanis, et lacera, et aquæ plena, refertur in Angliam. Hæc ego divinitus non dubito contigisse, ut rex fatuus intelligat, quàm sit auspicatum audire missas. E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo:

Ex MSS. Tigur.

PART III.

verùm ista vobis multò propiora sunt, quàm nos. Danus, et Suecus, cruentissimè inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in armis: uterq; affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest. Libri vestri (tuus, reverende pater, in Danielem, et tuus, doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam) incolumes ad me delati sunt: ego et Deo optimo maximo de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deq; omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi in hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum, in annuum stipendium, viginti coronatos; et alteras totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, ecclesiam, rempublicam, scholamq; vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Ghesnerum, D. Wikium, D. Hallerum, D. D. Hen. et Rod. Bullingerum meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri amans, et
studiosus in Deo,
Jo. Juellus.

Number 89.

The nobilitie, gentillmene, barons, with superintendants, ministers and others, professinge the evangell of Jesus Christ, within this realm: to the kings and quens majestie, and the Christian estat of yis realme presentlie met into parliament, wisheth the feare of God, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

Cotton lib.

FORASMUCKILL as in the convention of the kirke, halden at Edenburghe the 25th day of June last past, certayn gentelmen then were directed to the queens majestie, with certaine articles concerning the religion, desiring her majesties answer therupon: to the whilks howbeit her majestie than gave sum particular answer, nocht the less her majestie remitted the ferder answer to this present parliament. And therfore wee, of our dewty, can doe noe lesse nor crave the full answer of the said articles in this present parliament, conforme to the queens grace own appointment. And alsua

in respect that the parliament, halden at Edinburghe the 10th of July 1560 years, it was determined and concludid, the masses, papistrie, and papis jurisdiction, to be simply abolyshit and put away out of this realme, and Christs religion to be reteined universally and approvit. And in like manor, in respect that the queens majestie, by many, divers, and sundry proclamations, hes ratefyt and approvyt Christs religion; quhilk she fand publickly resaved in this realme at her arrivall, and spetially upon the fiftene daye of September last at Dunde: the kinge and queens majestie, with the advyse of thair secreat counsaill, promiset as well be the act of secreat counsaile, as by divers and sundry proclamations mad therupon, publickly in the principall burghis of this realme, to establish in this present parliament the religion of Christ, quhilke thei fand publicklie and univarsally standing at the arivall in Scotland; and all acts, lawes, and constitutions, comon, civill, or municipiall, prejudiciall to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the said acts and proclamations mair fullelye proports. Desiringe thairfore the premisses to be considered, together with the said articles, and the queens majesties answers to the same, with the kirks replie thareupon as followis. BOOK VI.

THE ARTICLES.

Theis are the articles which the nobilitie, barons, gentlemen, burgeosis, and other professors of Christs evangell, crave with all humilitie at the queens majestie, and her honorable consaile, within this realme of Scotlande.

Imprimis, That the papistical and blasphemos mass, with all papistree, idolatry, and pope's jurisdiction, be universallie suppressed and abolished thorowgout this whole realme, not only in the subjects, but also in the queenes majestie owne person, with punishment against all persons that shall be deprehendet to transgresse and offend in the same: and that the sincere word off God, and Christs true religion, nowe presently received, might be established, approved, and ratified thougheout thole realme, aswel in the queenes

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majestie owne person, as in the subjects, without any impedyment: and that the people be astricted to resort, upon the Sondaies at least, to the praiers and preaching of Godes worde, like as they were astricted before to resort to the idolaters masse: and theis heads to be provided by act off parliament, with the consent of the estates, and ratifycacion of the queenes majestie.

Secondlie, That seur provision be appoincted for sustentation of the mynistrye, aswel for the tyme present, as for the tyme to come; and that suche persons as are publickelie admytted in the mynistrye, may have there livings assigned unto them in the townes where they travell, or at the least next adjacent thereto: and that they have not occasion to crave the same at the hands of any others. And that the benyfices nowe vacant, or that have vaked sithence the monethe of Marche, anno 1558. or that hereafter shall happen to vake, be disponed to qualified and learned persons, able to preche Goddes worde, and to discharge the vocation concernynge the mynysterye, by tryall, and admission of the superintendents: and that no bishopricke, abbaty, priorye, deaconrye, provostrye, or enye other benyfyce having many churches annexed thereto, be disponed altogether at eny time to come, to eny one man: but at the least, the churches thereof be severallye disponed, and to several persons, so that every man having charge may serve at his owne church, according to his vocation. And to this effect, that the glebbis and manses be given to the mynistrye, that they may make residence at there churches, wherethrough they may discharge there conscyences, conform to there vocation, and also that the churches may be repaired accordinglie; and that a lawe be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

Thirdlie, That none be permytted to have charge of scoules, colledges, or universities, or yet privatly or publickly instruct the youth, but such as shall be tryed by the superintendents, or the visitors of the churche, found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to there charges.

Fourthlie, For sustentacion of the poore, that all lands founded to hospitalitie of old be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, anuell rents, or any other emoluments pertayninge any wayes somtyme to the friers of whatsoever ordre they had been of, or anuall rents, altarage, obits perteoninge to the priests, be applyit to the sustentacion of the poor, and uphold of scoles in the townes, and other places whear thaye lie.

Fifthlie, That all sic horrible crymes, as now abounds in this realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his holye worde, sic as ydolatry, blasphemy of Godes name, manifest brekinge of the sabath day, with wichcraft, sorcery, and inchantment, adultery, incest, manifest whordome, mentenance of bordells, murther, slaughter, reyfe and spulze, with many other detestable crymes, may be severely punished; and judges appointed in every province or dioces for execution therof, with power to doe the same, and that by act of parliament.

Last, That som order be devysit and establishit, for the ease of the poore laborers of the ground, concerninge the reasonable payment of thair teynds, and settinge of thair teyndis to an over yair heads, without yaire own advyse and consent.

The queen's majesties answer to the articles, presentit to her highnes by certaine gentlemen, in the name of the hall last assemblie of the kirke.

To the first, desiringe the mass to be suppressed and abolyscht, as well in the head as members, with punyshment against the contradoenars; as also that religion now professed to be establisht be acte of parliament. It is answerit, first, for the part of her majestie selfe, that hir highnes is yet na wyse perswadit in the said religion, not yett that any impyetie is in the masse; and therefore beleves that her lovinge subjects will noe wayes presse her to receive any religion agaynst her conscience: quilke suld be to her continuall troble, be remorse of conscience, and ther through an parpetall inquietnes. And to deal plainly with her subjects,

PART III. her majestie neather will, nor may leave the religion, quharin she hes ben noryscht and upbrought, and believes the same to be well grounded; knowinge besides the grudge of conscience, gyf she shold receve any change in her owne religion, that she shold leave the friendship of the king of France, the auncient allia of yis realme, and of other great princes hir frinds and confederats: quha wold take the same in evil part. And of quhom she may luke for thare great support in har necessities and havefand no other consederation that may contraven the same. She will be loth to put in hasard the losse of all her frinds in an instant; prayinge all her lovynge subjects, seing they had experience of hir goodnes, that she has neither in tymes by past, nor yet means hearafter to prease the conscience of any man, but that they may worshippe God in sick sort as they ar perswadit to be the best, that they will allwayes notht presse hir toffend hir awne conscience. As to the establishment in the body of the realme; these your selfis knawis as appears well by your articles, that the sam can nocht be done, be thonly consent of hir majestie, but requires necessarily the consent of the thre estates in parliament. And therfore soe sone as the parliament halds, that thing quhilke the thre estates agree upon amangst your selfes, hir majestie shall grant the same unto you. And alwais sall make you suer yat na man shall be troblit for using your selves in religion accordinge to your consciences: so that no man shall have cause to doubt that for religious causes mens lyves or heritags shall be in haserid.

To the second article, that her majestie thinks it no wayes resonable that she shuld defraud her selfe of sa greate a parte of the patrimony of the crowne, as to put the patronages of the benifices furth of her owne hands. For her own necessity, in beringe of her, and comon charges, will requyre the retention of ane guide part in her own hands; nochtyelles her majestie is well pleasit that consideracion being had of hir owne necessity, and quhat may be sufficient for the resonable sustentation of the ministers, and speciall assignation be made to you in places maist como-

dius and with the quhilk her majestie shall not intromitt, but soffer the same to run to tham.

The answer of the rest of the articles is referred to the parliament.

The kirk's reply to the queen's majesties answers aforesayd.

First, whar her majestie answers that she is not persuadit in the religion; neather that she understands any impietie in the masse, bot that the same is well grounded, &c. This is no smale greafe to the Christian harts of her godlie subjects; consideringe that the trompet of Christ's evangell hes ben sa lange blawin in this countrie; and his mercy sa plainly offerit in the same: that her majestie yet remaynes unperswadit of the trewth of this our religion; for our religion is not ells, but the same religion quhilke Christ in the last days revelit fra the bossome of his Father: quharof he mad his apostells messengers, and quhilke they preachit and establysht amoungst his faithfull to continu till gaine coming of the Lord Jesus: quhilk differs from the impietie of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jewes, and vaine superstition of the papists in this, that onlie our religion hes God the Father, his only Sonne our Lord Jesus, his Holy Spirit speakinge in his prophets and apostles, for authors therof: and the doctrine and practice for ground of the same. The quhilk assurance no other religion upon the face of the yearth can justly alleage or plainly prove; yea, quatsoever assurance the papists hes for their religion, the same hes the Turk for mayntenance of the Alcarone; and the Jewys far greter for the defence of their cerimonies; quihidder it be antiquity of tyme, consent of people, authority of princes, great number or multitud consentinge together, or any other sike like cloks, that they can pretent. And therefore as we are dolorous that her majestie in this our religion is not perswadit, so maist reverently wee require in the name of the eternal God, that her highnes wald embrace the meanes quharby she may be perswadit in the trewth. Quhilke presently we offer unto her grace, aswell

PART III. by preachinge of his worde, quhilk is the chiefe means appointed be God to perswade all the chosen children of his infailable veritie. As be publick disputacion against the adversaries of this our religion descivers of her majestie whensoever it shall be thought expedient to hir grace. And as to the impietie of the masse, we dare be bauld to affirme, that in that idoll thare is great impietie, ye it is na thinge ells but a messe of impietie fra the beginninge to the endinge. The author, or sayer, the action it selfe, the opinion therof conteanit, the hearers of it, gasars upon it, avoure it pronouncis blasphemy, and comytts maist abhomynable ydolatry, as we have ever offerit, and yet offer our selves maist manifestly to prove. And quhar hir majestie estemes that the change of hir religion should dissolve the confederacy and allyance, that she hes with the kinge of France and other princes, &c.

Assuredly Christ's true religion is the undowtid means to knit up surly perfect confederacy and friendship with him that is King of all kings; and quha hes the harts of all princes in his hands. Quhilk aucht to be more precious unto her majestie, nor the confederacy of all the princes of the yearth; and without the quhilke, neather confederacy, love, or kindness can long endure.

Concerning her majesties answer to the second article, quhar as she thinks yt no ways resonable to defraud hir selfe of hir patronage of the benefices, quhilk her majestie estemes to be a portion of hir patrimony. And that hir majesty is mindit to retaine an gud parte of the benifices in her own hands to support her comon charges: as to the first point, our mind is not that hir majestie, or any other patrone of this realme, shuld be defraudit of their just patronages, but we mean that quhen soever hir majestie, or any other patrone dois present any personage to any benefice, that the parson presently shuld be tryed and examined by the learned men of the kirke, sic appertaineth, as the superintendaunts appointit there to. And as the presentacion of the benefices appertayne to the patrons, so ought the collation therof by lawe and reason appertayne to the

church; of the quhilke collation the kirk shuld not be defrauded, maire nore the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise, if it shall be lawfull to the patrons absolutely to present quhom thai please, without triall or examination, quhat than can abyde in the kirke of God, but mere ignorance without all ordre. As to the second parte, concerninge the retention of a gude parte of the benefices in her majesties owne hands, this point abhorris sa far fra gud conscience, as well of God's law, as fra the publicke ordre of all common laws; that we ar loth to open up the ground of the matter, be any long circumstances. And therefore maist reverently we wish that hir majestie wold consider the matter with her selfe, and with her wise councell, that howsoever the patronages of the benefice may appertayne to her selfe, yet the retention therof in hir own hands undisponing them to qualyfyt persones, is both ungodly, and also contrary to all polyticke order, and finall confusion to the pure saules of the common people: quha be this means shuld be instructit of their salvation. And quhar hir majestie concludis in her second answer, that she is content that an sufficient and resonable sustentacion of the ministers be provydat to tham, by assignation in placis most commodious and easiest to tham; consideracion beinge had of hir owne necessitie. As we are altogether desirous that hir gracis necessitie be relevit, so our duty craves that we should notefie to your grace the true order that shuld be observed in this behalfe, quhilk is this, The teynds are properly to be reputed to be the patrimony of the kirke, upon the quhilks befor all things they that travells in the ministery thairof, and the pore indigent members of Christ body are to be sustenit. The kirks also repaired, and the youthead brought up in gud letters: quhilks things be and done, than other necessitie resonable might be supportede accordinge as her majestie and hir godlie counsaile could think expedient. Allways we cannot but thank her majestie most reverently, of her liberall offer, of assignations to be made to the ministers for their sustentation. Quhilk not the lesse is so generally conceived that without mare speciall

PART III. condiscendinge upon the particularity therof, no expectacion is able to follow therupon. And so to conclud with her majestie at this parliament, we desire most earnestly the performance of the said articles, beseching God that as they are resonable and godly in thamselvis; so your majesties hart, and the estates jointly convenit, may be inclynit and perswadit to the performance therof.

Number 90.

The supplication to the queen's majestie of Scotlande.

To the queen's most excellent majesty, her grace's humble subjects, professing the evangell of Christe Jesus within this realme, wisheth longe prosperitte, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

Cotton lib. Calig. B. 10. IT is not unknown unto your majestie, that within this realme the evangell of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the trewe religion so established; idolatry, to wit, the masses, and all that therto appertenyth, together with the usurped and tyrannicall power of that Romaine ante-christ, called the pope, so suppressed, aswel by the mighty power and hand of God, as by just lawes and decres of parliament, that none within this realme durst in publick have gainsaid the one nor mayntenet the other. It is further known, that such as in whose hands God of his mercye had prospered the begynninge of this his worke, were going forwarde to an exact and parfect reformation, concerninge the policy of the churche, accordinge to the word of God, and sustentation of them that travell in the same. But theis nowe our most just and godlie begynnings have nowe bene staied and trobled nere the space of 4 yeres, to the great grief of all godlie hartes within this realme. Shortlie after your grace's arrival, was that idol the masse erected up againe: and there after were wicked men enemyes to Christ Jesus, and his holy evangell reposed in the places wich they never possessed, and were admitted to receive the fruts, that by no just lawe can apperteane to them: and that under color they shold pay ther thirds to your majesties comp-

troller, and suche as he shold depute for the receiving of the same; to thend as we understond, that our mynysters and mynisterye might have bene planted and sustanid according to Gods comaundement. And albeyt we were plainly forwarned, that suche begynnynge wold not have eny happy ende; yet the love that we bare to the tranquyllitie of your realme, and esperance and hope that we had, that God of his mercye wold molyfye your highness hart, to heare his blessed evangell publickly preched, we quyetly past over many things that were in our harts, as also many tymes by our supplicacions unto your majestie, we desiered to have bene redressed: but howe litle we have proffyted to this daie, bothe great and small amongest us begynne now to consider. For laws we see violated, idolatrye encreased, your highnes owne gates (against proclamations) made patent to the foolishe people, to commytt idolatrye: the patrymony of the churche we see bestowed upon persons most unworthie, and to other uses then was at first intended: and thereby the tyrannye of that Romaine antichrist to be intruded upon us againe; our mynisters brought to extreme povertie; some of them trobled in ther function, some prechers hurt, and no redresse maide. Fornicacion, adulterye, incest, murther, sorcerers, bewytchers, and al impietie so to abounde universallie within this your highnes realme, that God cannot lange spaire to stricke the heade and the members, onless speedye repentance followe. We therfore, nowe contynuinge in our former humble sewte, most humbly requere of your majestie a speadye reformation of the innormyties aforesaid, and a favorable answere of our just petycions; as more fullye your majestie please receive in articles; most humbley beseaching your highnes to have this opynon of us, that as to this daie your grace have founde nothinge in us but dewe obbedyence to your majesties lawes and auctoritie, which we have given, because we are thonly part of your people that treuly fear God, so to esteame of us, that God his Christ Jesus, and his trewe religion which we professe, (and by his grace shal be) to us more dear then lives, possessions, or respect of prosperitie.

BOOK VI.

PART III. And therefore yet againe we the hole bodye, professing Christ Jesus within this realme, humbly crave of your majestie, that ye give us not occasion to thinke that ye entende nothinge but the subversion of Christ Jesus his true religion, and in the overthrowe of it, the distruction of us the best part of the subjects of this your graces realme: for this before the world we plainly professe, that to that Romaine antichrist we will never be subyect, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppresse it) any of his usurped auctoritie to have place within this realme. And thus with all humble and dewtifull obbedyence we humbly crave your graces favorable answer, with these our appointed commissioners.

Number 91.

A letter of Parkhurst bishop of Norwich to Bullinger, concerning the state of affairs in Scotland, and the killing of signior David.

Ex MSS. Figur. SALVUS sis in Christo, optime Bullingere. Secundo Februarii scripsi ad te, et unà cum literis misi viginti coronatos, vel decem coronatos et pannum pro toga: nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permisi. Tuas accepi 23 Maii. Paulò post Londinensis episcopus, exemplar responsionis tuæ ad literas Laurentii Humphredi, et Thomæ Sampsonis, ad me misit. Quæ scripsisti, typis apud nos excuduntur, et Latinè, et Anglicè. Accepi præterea, 12 Julii, Confessionem Fidei orthodoxæ, c. pulcherrimum libellum. Mense Martio, Italus quidam, vocatus Senior David, necromanticæ artis peritus, in magnam gratiam apud reginam Scotiæ, è reginæ cubiculo (illa præsente) vi extractus, et aliquot pugionibus confossus, miserè periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evasit ægrè, sed paulò post ex vulnere est mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Black*, (niger Visularius) papistarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in aula occiditur: Sic niger hic nebulo, nigra quoq; morte peremptus, Invitus nigrum subitò descendit in orcum. Consiliarii, qui tum simul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibusdam arduis consultarent, au-

dientes has cædes, (nam priùs nihil tale sunt suspicati) alii hac, alii illac, alii è fenestris sese proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ consulebant suæ. Regina Scotiæ principem peperit: et cum antea maritum (nescio quas ob causas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, suum ex patre fratrem, quem antea exosum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec solum illum, sed omnes (utinam verum esset) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus sopiebatur, denuò caput exerit. Cùm hæc scriberem, ecce Scotus quidam è patria profugiens, vir bonus et doctus, narravit mihi, reginam ante decem hebdomadas puerum peperisse; nec dum esse baptizatum. Rogo causam: respondet, Reginam velle filium in summo templo, cum multarum missarum celebratione tingi. At Edinburgenses id omnino non permittunt: nam mori potiùs malunt, quàm pati, ut abominandæ missæ in suas ecclesias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edinburgenses, ne illa è Gallia auxiliares vocet copias, ut facilius evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis fratribus. Mandatis dedit cuidam pio comiti, ut Knoxum apud se manentem, ex ædibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura scribere non possum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plenè convalui. Est hæc scribendo debilitata manus.

Vale, charissime mi Bullingere. Salutem quæso adscribas omnibus, atque adeo omnibus piis, meo nomine. Dominus sua dextra protegat ditionem Tigurinorum. Raptim Ludhamiæ, 21 Augusti 1566.

Tuus,

INSCRIPTIO. Joh. Parkhurstus, N.

D. Henricho Bullingero.

Number 92.

A letter of Grindall's to Bullinger, giving an account of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland; and of the killing of signior David.

Salutem in Christo.

Clarissime D. Bullingere, ac frater in Christo charissime,

D. JOHANNES Abelus tradidit mihi literas tuas D. Winto- Ex MSS. Tigur.

PART III.

niensi, Norvicensi, et mihi communiter inscriptas, unà cum scripto vestro de re vestiaria: quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintoniensem et Norvicensem statim transmisi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod nostrarum ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad nostros de rebus controversis scribuntur. Vix credibile est, quantum hæc controversia, de rebus nihili, ecclesias nostras perturbarit, et adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex ministris doctioribus videbantur ministerium deserturi. Multi etiam ex plebe contulerunt consilia de secessione à nobis facienda, et occultis cœtibus cogendis; sed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad saniorem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem literæ vestræ, plenæ pietatis ac prudentiæ, plurimùm momenti attulerunt: nàm eas Latinè, atque Anglicè, typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex ministris, vestro judicio atque authoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora consilia de deserendo ministerio. Sed et ex plebe quamplurimi mitiùs sentire cœperunt, postquam intellexerunt nostros ritus à vobis (qui iisdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari impietatis, quod ante publicatas vestras literas, nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore sententia; et in his D. Humfredus et Sampsonus: nihil verò esset facilius, quàm regiæ majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud serenissimam reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc episcopi sumus, in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cùm illa de regina et statibus in comitiis regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis consiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deserere ecclesias propter ritus non adeo multos, eosque per se non impios; præsertim quum pura evangelii doctrina nobis integra ac libera maneret, in qua ad hunc usque diem, (utcunque multi multa in contraria moliti sunt) cum vestris ecclesiis, vestraque Confessione nuper dedita, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri consilii: nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ et confir-

matæ sunt ecclesiæ, quod alioqui eceboliis, Lutheranis, et semi-papistis, prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ contentiones de adiaphoris (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter fratres. Sed de nostris rebus hactenus. In Scotia non sunt res tam bene constitutæ, quàm esset optandum. Retinent quidem ecclesiæ adhuc puram evangelii confessionem; sed tamen videtur Scotiæ regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut sex aut septem missæ papisticæ, singulis diebus in aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admissis, quum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita est reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia evangelii ministris persolverentur: at ipsa jam integro triennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit minister, non ita pridem ejecerit, neque exorari potest ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen, extra aulam, nihil hactenus est innovatum; et proceres regni, nobiles item, ac cives, multò maxima ex parte evangelio nomen dederunt, multa, magnaque constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his præcipuus unus est, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murraciæ comes, reginæ frater, nothus, vir pius, ac magnæ apud suos authoritatis. Perscribitur ad me ex Scotia, reginæ cum rege pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est: fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, à cardinale Lotharingo reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum reginæ à secretis atque intimis esset consiliis, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc malè habebat regem. Itaque facta conspiratione cum nobilibus quibusdam, et aulicis suis, Italum illum reginæ opem frustra implorantem ex ipsius conspectu arripi, et statim indicta causa multis pugionibus perfodi, atque interfici curavit. Hujus facti immanis memoriam regina, tametsi nuper filium regi peperit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulò verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur.

BOOK VI.

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos collegas tuos, meo no-

PART III. mine salutes. Dominus te, nobis et ecclesiæ suæ, quàm diutissimè conservet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,
Edm. Grindallus
episcopus Londinensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo, ac fratri in Domino charissimo.

Number 93.

A part of Grindal's letter to Bullinger, of the affairs of Scotland.

MSS. ur. ——SCOTIA jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ rex (uti te audivisse existimo) decimo Februarii elapsi, in horto quodam, hospitio suo adjacente, inventus est mortuus: de genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incensis vasis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ sub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex industria reposita fuerant, ædes eversas atq; ipsum in hortum proximum projectum fuisse. Alii verò intempesta nocte vi extractum è cubiculo, et postea strangulatum, ac tum demum incenso pulvere ædes disjectas fuisse affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes suspectus erat comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic comiti, postquam uxorem legitimam interveniente authoritate archiepiscopi S. Andreæ repudiasset, decimo quinto Maii nupsit Scotiæ regina, atq; eundem ex comite Orchadum ducem creavit. Paulo ante hoc matrimonium omnes fere regni proceres, quum nullam in cædem regis inquisitionem institui viderent, discesserunt ex aula, et seorsum apud Sterlynum oppidum conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis inditiis nefandam hanc cædem à Bothwellio perpetratam fuisse, compertum est. Itaq; collecto exercitu ipsum comprehendere satagunt, Bothwellius verò dat se in fugam: sed quo profugerit, adhuc nescitur. Reginam

alii aiunt obsideri in arce quadam, alii verò in arce Edinburgensi, tanquam necis mariti consciam, captivam detineri asserunt. Quomodocunque sit, infames illæ nuptiæ, non possunt, non in aliquam diram tragœdiam desinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus efficiam brevi ut cognoscas. De persequutionibus Flandriæ nihil scribo, quod eas vos non latere existimem: multa apud nos jactata sunt de obsessa Geneva, sed spero vana esse. Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam, nobis et ecclesiæ incolumen conservet.

Londini, 21 Junii, 1567.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino
Edmundus Grindallus
episcopus Londiniensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo, et fratri in Christo charissimo.

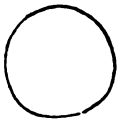
Tiguri.

This being the last of the letters sent me from Zurich, which I have put in this Collection, I add to it the attestation sent me from thence, that the copies were faithfully taken from the originals, and that they were carefully collated with them.

The attestation of the burgomaster and council of Zurich, of the faithfulness of the copies of the letters sent me from the MSS. that lie there.

Consul et senatus civitatis Thuricensis Helvetiorum vulgò Zurich dictæ, præsentibus hisce confitemur ac notum facimus, Apographa illa ex originalibus in archivis civitatis nostræ asservatis literis, quæ tempore reformationis ab ecclesia Anglicana ad nostræ ecclesiæ tunc temporis ministros et vice versa emanavêre, ducta et transumpta, omni diligentiâ et fidelitate descripta esse, ut facta in cancellaria nostra

ART III. accuratâ collatione, copias originalibus de verbo ad verbum ubiq; concordare repertum fuerit, quibus apographis proinde plenaria fides tutò adhiberi possit. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes hasce exhiberi, civitatis nostræ sigillo muniri, et à jurato secretario nostro subscribi mandavimus, die decimo Julii, anno à nata salute millesimo, septingentesimo, decimo tertio.

Locus  sigilli.

BEATUS HOVRHALBIUS,
Reipublicæ Thuricensis archigrammaticus.
Manu propria subscripsi.

Number 94.

A relation of Mary queen of Scotland's misfortunes, and of her last will, in the Life of cardinal Laurea, written by the abbot of Pignerol his secretary. Printed at Bologna, anno 1599.

ATQUI tunc in Scotia tam scelestum, tamque nefarium facinus commissum est, ut illud reminisci, nedum enarrare animus quodammodò exhorreat. Rex, variolarum (ut vulgò aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortassis uxorem contagione contaminaret, se in ædes à regiis ædibus Edimburgi sejunctas receperat; ubi, simul ac convalescere cœpit, ab uxore sæpius invisitur, quodam autem die cum simul cœnassent, atq; in multam noctem sermonem, lusumq; protraxissent, quo minus itidem simul cubarent, excusationem affert regina, quod sponsam quandam è nobilibus suis mulieribus ea primam nuptiarum nocte usque ad cubile honoris gratia esset comitatura: quem morem superiores reginæ observare semper consueverant. Vix regina discesserat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos subter fundamentum domus conjectus, totum edificium continuò dejicit, ipsumque regem opprimit: quamvis nonnulli non ruina interemptum, sed,

dum per posticum primo circa ædes audito armorum strepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, unà cum familiari quodam strangulatum, moxque ædes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuisse malint. Planè constat, exangue regis corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantum modò circa collum maculam habuisse. Indignissima hac regis divulgata cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidem iniquos in reginam sermones jacere; alii per injuriam libellos edere: nonnulli comitem Bodvellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuisse compererant, non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carnificem accusare, adeò interdum vulgus acutissimè indagare, atque odorari omnia solet. Bodvellius, licet hæreticus, reginæ tamen studiosissimus, fidelissimusque semper extiterat: nuper eam gravissimo illo seditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipsa deniq; perditè amabatur. Quamobrem in spem adductus fore, ut reginam ipsam in matrimonio haberet, primò uxori propriæ (quasi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium misit, deinde regi necem crudeliter machinatus est. Regina post, improbissimos de ea, Boduellioque rumores dissipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo statuit recedendum, ac se unâ cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; statuto prius (ut simile vero videtur) quid inter ipsam et Boduellium foret postea transigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egressa regina, venatum prodire simulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex insidiis, ducentis stipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere visus est. Ergo regina, unà cum Bodvellio in arcem regressa, confestim eum Orcadum ducem, moxque maritum suum esse declarat, verùm nuptiæ illæ neutiquam faustæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt: quippe quæ non matrimonii dignitate, sed indigni facinoris societate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moraviensis è Scotia aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occasio daretur, turbas, novasq; rixas faceret. Huic quàm facillimum fuit sponte omnium in reginam Bodvelliumque ira, accensos animos acriùs inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulenteque, exercitu Edenburgi comparato, subitò Strivelinam versus

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castra moventur. Id ubi regina intellexit, secum mulieres tantum, paucosq; aulicos homines, adducens, obviam prodeundum duxit, venienti debita cum reverentia assurrexerunt. Interrogati, quanam de causa armati illuc accessissent, non alia respondisse feruntur, nisi ut atrocem injuriam à Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, et indignam regis necem, vimq; ipsimet reginæ illatam vendicarent. At regina noxam Bodvellii purgare; nihil non ipsa assentiente commissum. Quo sermone adeò sunt commoti, et exarserunt, ut omnes illicò uno ore acclamaverint, Et tu igitur, domina, apud nos captiva eris. Nec mora, ad arcem insulæ intra lacum Levinum in custodiam mittunt; uno ei tantum lixa, duabusq; infimæ conditionis mulierculis, ad ei ministrandum concessis.

Towards the end of the book comes what follows.

———Unum, hoc loco, non videtur silentio prætereundum: quod cum Sixti pontificis jussu, regni Scotiæ, atque in primis reginæ Mariæ res, in urbe protegendi munus suscepisset, accidit, ut infælix regina pridiè, quàm securi in Anglia feriretur, supremas tabulas Gallica lingua, manuque propria conficeret. Quibus primo, se religionis catholicæ studiosissimam semper fuisse professa est; deinde cavit, ne ad filium principem, si falsam hæresis, quam animo imbiberat, persuasionem non exuisset, Anglici regni hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret; sed loco sui ad Philippum, Hispaniarum regem catholicum pertineret. Hasce tabulas cum Vincentius cardinalis accepisset, mira diligentia recognoscendas curavit, ut ad reginæ ultimam voluntatem aperiendam fidemq; faciendam sufficerent. Nam et cum literis ab eadem regina priùs acceptis contulit, et non à se solùm, verumetiam à Ludovico Audoeno, Anglo, episcopo Cassanensi, pio et integerrimo homine, voluit subsignari: sicq; firmatas, ac tanquam publica authoritate roboratas, comiti Olivario, Hispaniarum regis oratori, ad ipsumet regem fideliter transmittendas dedit.

Number 95.

A bond of association, upon Mary queen of Scotland's resigning the crown in favour of her son.

An original, in the library of Glasgow.

We quhilks has subscrivit the underwritten bond, understanding that the queenis majesty willing nathing mair earnestlie, nor that in her lifetime her majesties dear son, our native prince, be placit and inaugurat in the kingdom of this his native cuntre and realm, and be obeyit as king be us, and uthers his subjects: and being wearit of the great pains and travels taken be her in her government thereof, hes be her letters demittit and renderit, and given power thairby to demit and renunce the said government of this realm, liegis and subjectis thairof, in favours of her said son, our native prince: to the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the crown royal put upon his head, and be obeyit in all things as king and native prince thairof, as her hieness letters past thairupon bears. Thairfore, and because it is ane of the maist happy things that can come to any pepill or cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn native king; we, and ilk ane of us, quhilk hes subscrivit thir presents, be the tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and oblissis us, faithfully to convene and assembil our selfs at the burgh of Sterling, or any other place to be appointit, to the effect foresaid; and thair concur, assist and fortify our said native king and prince, to the establishing, planting and placing of him in his kingdom, and putting of the crown royal thairof upon his head, and in the fear of our God being instructit and teichit be his and all other laws, sall giff our aith of fidelity and homage, and lawfull and dutiful obedience, to be made by us to him during his graces lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, Christian, and true subjects to do to thair native king and prince. And farther, that we sall with all our strength and forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and assist, to the promoteing and establishing of him in his kingdom and government, as becumis faithfull and true subjects to do to thair prince, and to resist all sick as wald

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oppon them thairto, or make any trouble or impediment to him thairin, and sall do all uther things that becomis faithfull and Christian subjects to do to thair native king and prince. In witness of the quhilk thing, we haif subscrivit thir presents with our handis, at Edinburgh, the day of ———, the year of God 1567 years.

James Regent. Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar. Glencairn. Errol. Buchan. Graham. Alexander lord Home. William lord Ruthven. Lord Sanquhar. Ihon lord Glamis. Patrick lord Lindsey. Michael lord Carlisle: with my hand at the pen, Alexander Hay, notarius. William lord Borthwick. Lord Innermaith. Ucheltrie. Sempill. Henry lord Methven. Allan lord Cathcart. Patrick lord Gray. Robert com. of Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander com. of Culross. Adam com. of Cambuskenneth. Dryburgh. Master of Montrose. Alexander bishop of Galoway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden, comptroller; with eighteen more.

Number 96.

Bond to the king, and to the earl of Murray, as regent during his infancy: registred in the council-books on the 5th of April 1569.

Us, and every ane of us underscriv, and sall in all time cuming, like as we do presentlie, reverence, acknowledge and recognosce the maist excellent and mighty prince James the Sixt, by the grace of God king of the Scottis, our only soveraine lord, and his dearest uncle, James earl of Murray, lord Abernethie, regent to his hieness, his realme, and leidges thereof, during his majesties minority. His hieness his said regent, and his majesties authority, we sall observe and obey, as becumis dutifull subjectis, our landis and livis in the defence and avancement thairof, we sall bestow and wair. The skaith, harm, or subversion of the samen, we

sall never knaw, nor procure by any meanis, direct nor indirect. All former bandis, for obedience of any other authority, subscrivit or made by us in any tymes, by-gaine, contrarious or prejudicial to his hieness, his said regent and authority, we renunce and discharge for evir: affirming and swearing solempnitlie, upon our faiths and honouris, to observe and keep this our declaration and plane profession, everie poynt thairof, be God himsellf, and as we will answer at his general judgement: whairin gif we failzie, we are content to be comptit faithless, false, perjurit and defamit for ever; besyde the ordinar pain of the lawis to be execute upon us, without favour, as a perpetual memory of our unnaturall defection, and inexcusable untruth. In witnes whairof we have subscrivit thir presents with our handis as follows, at the dayes and tymes particularly under specified.

Huntley. Crafurd. Cassilis. Sanquhar. Saltoun. James lord Ogilvie. Laurance lord Oliphant. John Mr. Forbes. With thirty six more.

Number 97.

A declaration of the causes moving the queene of England to give aide to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe-Countries.

Kings and princes, soveraigns are to yield account of their actions only to Almighty God, the King of kings.

ALTHOUGH kinges and princes, soveraignes, owing their homage and service only unto the Almightie God, the King of all kings, are in that respect not bounde to yeeld account, or render the reasons of their actions to any others, but to God their onely soveraigne Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and Christian monarchies, the same Lorde God having committed to us the soveraignetie of this realme of Englande, and other our dominions, which wee holde immediatly of the same Almightie Lorde, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majestie) wee are, notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time, specially moved (for divers reesons hereafter briefly remembred) to publish,

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not only to our owne naturall loving subjects, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such princes and states as are our confederates, or have for their subjects cause of commerce with our countreis and people, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable grounds we are moved to give aid to our next neighbours, the naturall people of the Low-Countreis, being by long warres, and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual servitude.

Natural causes of the ancient continual traffic betwixt the people of England and them of the Low Countries.

First, It is to be understoode, (which percase is not perfectly knowen to a great number of persons) that there hath been, time out of minde, even by the naturall situation of those Low-Countreis, and our realme of England, one directly opposite to the other; and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the people of England and the naturall people of these Lowe-Countries; and so continued in all ancient times when the severall provinces therof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by severall lordes, and not united together, as of late yeeres they have been by entermarriages; and at length by concurrences of many and sundrie titles have also been reduced to be under the government of their lordes that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie, whereby there hath been in former ages many speciall alliances and confederations, not only betwixt the kinges of England our progenitours, and the lordes of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents; but also betwixt the very naturall subjectes of both countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other comminalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciproquelie by speciall obligations and stipulations under their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and entercourse of merchantes; and also of speciall mutuall amitie to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties, as well

Confederations both betwixt the kinges of England, and the lordes of the Lowe Countries, and also the subjects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by special obligations enterchangeablie, for mutual favours, and friendly offices.

ecclesiasticall as secular: and very expresse provision in suche treaties conteined for mutuall favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutual bondes there hath continued perpetuall unions of the peoples hearts together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall love hath bene inviolablie kept and exercised, as it had been by the worke of nature, and never utterly dissolved; nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kinges, and the lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have beene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, envying the felicitie of these two countries.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the kinges of England, and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these natural unions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extent sundrie autentique treaties and transactions for mutual commerce, entercourse and straight amitie of ancient times: as for example, some very solemnely accorded in the times of king Henrie the VIth our progenitour, and Philip the IId, duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was above one hundred and forty years past; and the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his sonne, father to the king of Spayne's grandmother, and husband to the ladie Margaret, sister to our great grandfather king Edward the IVth: and after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our most noble and sage grandfather king Henrie the VIIth, and the archduke Philip, grandfather to the king of Spayne now being: and in later times, often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie king Henrie the VIIIth, and Charles the Vth emperour of Almaigne, father also to the present king of Spaine.

Conventions for the subjectes of either side, to shewe mutual favours one to the other.

In al which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in expresse words, by conventions, concordes, and conclusions, that the naturall people and subjects of either side should shewe mutuall favours

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and dueties one to the other; and should safely, freely, and securely commerce together in everie their countries, and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption contynued in many ages, farre above the like example of any other countries in Christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefite and enriching of their people, untill of late yeeres that the king of Spayne departing out of his Lowe Countries into Spayne, hath bene (as is to be thought) councelled by his counselours of Spayne, to appoynt Spaniardes, foreners, and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable government; and some of them notably delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest governours of all his said Low Countries, contrary to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, having great plentie of noble, valiant, and faithful persons naturally borne, and such as the emperour Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours used in their service, able to have bene employed in the rule of those countries. But these Spaniardes being meere strangers, having no naturall regarde in their government to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall maner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise emperour Charles; yea, and as his sonne king Philip himself had, whilest he remained in those countries, and used the counsels of the states, and natural of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but, contrarywise, these Spaniardes being exalted to absolute government by ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries; and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed, and destroyed without order of lawe, within the space of a fewe monthes, many of the most ancient and principal persons of the natural nobilitie that were more worthy of government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruel persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion, yet they spared not to deprive verie many catholiques and ecclesiastical persons of

Spaniardes and strangers lately appointed governours in the Lowe Countries, to the violation of the liberties of the country.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by Spanish government.

their franchises and privileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion then was the noble and valiant count of Egmond, the very glory of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the service of the king of Spayne can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the cruelties used for his destruction, to bee but for ever lamented in the heartes of the natural people of that countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in servitude to Spayne; these foreine governours have by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some fewe Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries, (which with their riches, by common estimation, answered the emperour Charles equally to his Indias) in a maner desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruel maners of death, a great part of the natural people, and now the rich townes and strong places being desolate of their natural inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniardes.

The lamentable violent death of the count of Egmond, the glory of those countries.

The riche townes and strengthes with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniardes.

All which pitiful miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient time have bene at frequent discord with them, thorowe natural compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared specially this present yere, when the Frenche kinge pretended to have received them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countrey and their deputies were answered) that certaine untimely and unlooked for complottes of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne, disturbed the good and general peace of Fraunce, and thereby urged the king to forbeare from the resolution he had made, not only to aide the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries against the Spaniardes, but also to have accepted them as his owne subjectes. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in Fraunce by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestly sollicited us as queen of England, both by message and writinge to bee careful of their defence: yet in

The French king's offers to have aided and received to

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respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitte in auncient friendship to this realme then to any other countrie, we are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long time with more cause and grief generally then of our subjects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours, and that in such maner, as this our realme of England, and those countries have been by common language of long time resembled, and termed as man and wife. And for these urgent causes and many others, we have by many friendly messages and ambassadors, by many letters and writings to the said king of Spayne our brother and allie, declared our compassion of this so evil and cruel usage of his natural and loyal people, by sundrie his martial governoures, and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his Lowe Countries and people, we have often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdome and princely clemencie restraine the tyrranny of his governours, and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their lives, and for continuance of their native countrey in their former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other foreyne lorde; or rather to yeeld themselves wholy to the soveraigntie of some mighty prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priviledges graunted by some of the lordes and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretende and affirm, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choice of any other prince to bee their prince and head. The proof whereof, by examples past is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of divers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the

his subjection the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries.

The queen of Englande's continual friendly advices to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrrannie of his governours.

duke of Burgundy came to his tytle, from which the king of Spayne's interest is derived: but the further discussion hereof we leave to the viewe of the monuments and recordes of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yeelding themselves in any like sort to the soveraigntie of any other strange prince, certaine yeeres past, upon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marques of Havery yet living, and of such others as had principal offices in those countries in the time of the emperour Charles, we yielded at their importunate requests, to graunt them prests of money, only to continue them as his subjects, and to maintaine themselves in their just defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniardes their oppressours, thereby staying them from yielding their subjection to any other prince from the said king of Spayne: and during the time of that our aide given to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spayne, we did freely acquainte the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to commaund his governours and men of warre, not to use such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despayre of his favours, and seeke some other lorde.

The queene of England's meanes used to staie the states of the Lowe Countries from yeelding their subjection to any other forreine prince.

And in these kind of perswasions and actions wee continued many yeeres, not onely for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a natural disposition to have the ancient conditions of straight amitie and commerce for our kingdomes and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendants, and namely with our next neyghbours the countries of Flanders, Holland, and Zeland. For wee did manifestly see, if the nation of Spayne shoulde make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantly intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spanyardes, being sent within these fewe yeeres by the king of

The enterprise of the Spaniardes in Ireland

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Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestly confessed by the captaines, that those nombers were sent aforehand to sease upon some strength there, to the intent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof: wee did, we say againe, manifestly see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our saide often requests and advises given to the king of Spayne, manifestly for his own weale and honour, wee found him by his counsell of Spayne so unwilling in any sort to encline to our friendly counsell, that his governours and chiefetains in his Lowe Countries increased their cruelties towards his own afflicted people, and his officers in Spayne offered dayly greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for trafique: yea, they of his counsell in Spayne would not permit our express messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter very strange, and against the law of nations.

sent by the king of Spayne and the pope.

The refusal of the queen's messenger, and her letters to the king of Spayne.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthy to be knowen to the king, and not unmete nowe also to be declared to the world, to shewe both our good disposition towardes the king in imparting to him our grieves, and to let it appear howe evill we have beene used by his ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Although we coulde not have these many yeres past any of our servaunts, whome we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother, as was mete, suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities offered to their families, and divers times to their owne persons, by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the countrey, without cause given by them, or notified to us: yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time, and many yeres give favourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to us; saving onely upon manifest daungerous

The just causes of dismissing of B. Mendoza out of England.

practices, attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent-spirited person, and altogether unskilfull and unapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie; as at his retourn into Spaine, he was so there also reputed: the other and last was Bernardin de Mendoza; one whom we did accept and use with great favour a long time, as was manifestly seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himself: but yet of late yeeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundrie our evill-disposed and seditious subjectes, not onely to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open rebelles and traytours; with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, he did in the ende devise, how with a power of men, partely to come out of Spayne, partely out of the Lowe Countries, whereof hee gave them great comforte in the kinges name, an invasion might be made into our realme; setting downe in writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes and places of our realme, by special name: and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should favour this invasion, and take part with the invadours; with many other circumstances, declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble us and our realme very dangerously; as hath beene moste clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that confederacy with him: whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his companie in France; and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing, the whole course herein helde by the saide ambassador, as was manifestly of late time published to the worlde uppon Francis Throgmorton's, a principall traitours examination. And when we found manifestly this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and invasion: and that for a yeere or more together he never brought to us any letter from the kinge his master, notwithstanding our often requeste made to him, that he woulde by some letter from the king to us, let it

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appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with us in his masters name, in sundrie thinges that he propounded to us as his ambassadour; which we did judge to be contrary to the kinge his master's will. We did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practices; and made it patent to him, how and by whom (with many other circumstances) we knew it; and therefore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content (within some reasonable time) to departe out of our realme, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people. For the which we graunted him favorable conduct, both to the sea and over the sea. And thereupon we did speedily send a servant of ours into Spaine, with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant unto him. And this was the messenger afore-mentioned, that might not be suffred to deliver our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in England, by meanes of certaine rebelles, to have procured sundry invasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the Lowe Countreis: very hard recompences (we may say) for so many our good offices. Hereupon we hope, no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed our selves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of our selfe and our people. And finding our owne dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have bene the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy: for that, besides many other advices, given us both at home and from abrode, in due time to withstand these dangers; we have found the general disposition of al our own faithfull people, very ready in this case, and earnest, in offring to us both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realme and themselves, evidently seene and feared, by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and

by planting the Spanish nation and men of warre, enemies to our countries, there so nere unto us. And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding, by God's speciall favor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against us in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onely by the house of Guise, by colour of the mariage of their neece, the queene of Scots, with the dolphin of France: in like maner, as the offsprings of the saide house have even now lately sought to attaine to the like unordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selves to consider; although we hope, the king (our good brother) professing sincere friendship towards us, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnes of that house, that neither himself nor the princes of his bloud be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king and his bloud) be by the said house of Guise, and their faction, disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to return to this like example of Scotlande aforesaid, when the French had in like manner (as the Spanyardes have nowe of long time attempted in the Lowe Countries) sought by force to have subdued the people there, and brought them into a servitude to the crowne of France; and also by the ambitious desires of the saide house of Guise, to have proceeded to a warre by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the queene of Scottes (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the worlde): it pleased Almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our honour and comfort, to further our intention, and honourable and just actions, at that time, in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland, (being sore oppressed with the French, and universally requiring our aide,) we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliverance of the force of strangers, and danger of servitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie; which hath continued there ever since many yeres; saving that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noblemen, (as hath

The queen of England's proceeding, for the deliverie of Scotland from the servitude wherein the house of Guyse meant to have brought it.

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beene usuall in that countrie, in the mynoritie of the yong king) there hath risen some inward troubles, which (for the most part) we have, in favour of the king and his governours, used meanes to pacifie: so as at this day, such is the quietnes in Scotlande, as the king our dear brother and cousin, by name James the VIth, a prince of great hope for many goode princely respectes, raigneth there in honour and love of his people, and in very good and perfect amitie with us and our country. And so our actions, at that time, came to so good successe, by the goodnes of God, as bothe our own realme, and that of Scotland, hath ever since remained in better amitie and peace then can be remembred these manie hundred yeeres before: and yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the Frenche kinges that have since succeeded, (which have been three in number, and all brethren) have made and concluded divers treaties for good peace with us; which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foreside actions, attempted for removing out of Scotland of the saide French forces, so transported by the onely direction of the house of Guyse.

he realm Scotland stored to e ancient redom, d so pos- sed by e present ng, by the eans only the Q. of gland.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroade be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by parciallitie, that upon the often and continuall lamentable requestes made to us by the universall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other provinces with them united, (beeing desperate of the king of Spaines favours) for our succours to be yeelded to them, onely for their defence against the Spaniards and other strangers; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate requests and advices given to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase therof, by dayly conquests of their townes and slaughter of theire people; (tho' in very trueth, we cannot impute the increase of any late cruelties, to the person of him that now hath the title of generall governor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclynable to mercie and cle-

he conclu- on of the uses of nding of rtain mpanies English ldiers, to e defence the op- essed peo- e of the w Coun- ies, and to thstand e attempts ainst this alm.

mencie, then it seemeth he can direct the heartes of the Spaniardes under him, that have been so long trayned in shedding of blood under the former Spanish governours:) and joyning therunto our owne danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attemptes against our realme: we did therefore, by good advice, and after long deliberation, determine to sende certaine companies of souldieres to ayde the naturall people of those countries; onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the honour of God; whome they desire to serve sincerly, as Christian people, according to his holie word, and to enjoye their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequently to preserve and contynue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people, and those countries and ours.

Three special things reasonably desired by the Q. of England. 1. The end of wars, with restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient liberties. 2. Surety from invasion of her own realm. 3. And renewing of the mutual traffick betweene the countries.

And so, we hope, our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be, by God's favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons, (saving of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans,) in that we meane not heereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two rootes of all injustice,) to make any particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people: onely desiringe at this time to obtaine (by Gods favour) for the countries, a deliverance of them from warre, by the Spaniards and forrainers; a restitution of their ancient liberties and government, by some Christian peace; and thereby, a suretie for our selves and our realme, to be free from invading neighbours; and our people to enjoy in those countries their lawfull commerce, and entercourse of frendship and marchandise, according to the ancient usage and treaties of entercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lordes and earls of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

The causes of taking some towns into her

And though our further intention also is, or may be, to take into our garde some fewe townes upon the sea-side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger

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ajesties istody.

to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country: yet therein considering we have no meaning at this tyme to take and retaine the same to our owne proper use; we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with good reason and princely policie, that we should have the gard and use of some such places, for sure accesse and recesse of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals, and other things requisite and necessarie, whilest it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries, for the aiding therof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent daunger, and untill the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recover their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouvernment, to live in peace as they have heeretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to doe; which are the very onely true endes of all our actions nowe intended, howsoever malicious tongues may utter their cankred conceits to the contrary, as at this day the worlde aboundeth with such blasphemous reportes in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the Devil hath more abounded with notable spirites replenished with all wickednesse, to utter his rage against professours of Christian religion. But thereof we leave the revenge to God, the searcher of hearts, hoping that he, beholding the sinceritie of our heart, wil graunte good successe to our intentions, whereby a Christian peace may ensue to his divine honour, and comfort to al them that love peace truely, and wil seeke it sincerely.

An addition to the Declaration, touching the slaunders published of her majestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entituled *Nuouo adviso*, directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteyning a report of the expugnation of Antwerpe by the prince of Parma: by the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no lesse

hateful to the world, then most repugnant and contrary to our own natural inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saved our life being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sister's time: the other, that there was some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (*as it was said,*) that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken away: and for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible lye, it is further added in the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to justice. Now knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes: and holding nothing so dear unto us, as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blamelesse: we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to pass under silence, least for lacke of answere it may argue a kind of guiltines, and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by us for our justification in that behalfe, might be most aptly joined unto this former declaration now to be published, to lay open before the world the maner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the Lowe Countries.

And for answere of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions may appeare: so do we utterly denie as a most manifect untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life, as a person by a course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried our self towards our said sister in dutiful sort, as our loyaltie was never called in question, much lesse any sentence of death pronounced

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against us: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in lawe, by place of tryal, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our qualitie, as it could not but have bene publiquelie known, if any such thing had bene put in execution. This then being true, we leave to the worlde to judge howe maliciously and injuriously the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a vice that of all others we do most hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest untruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easily discerne what untruth is conteined in the second, by the which we are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded, either of a mislyking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the Lowe Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could never learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speach, done any thing that might justly breede a mislike in us towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either privie, or assenting to the taking away of his life: besides, he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceite, in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great reputation as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so have we always delivered out by speeche unto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the prosecution committed unto him of the warres in the Lowe Countries, as all men of judgment know that the taking away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke any ende of the said prosecution: so is it manifestly knowen, that no man hath dealt more honourablie then the

saide prince, either in duely observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie where merite and deserte hath craved the same: and therefore no greater impietie by any coulde bee wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to our selfe, (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doeth) then to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him, then any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeede after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is that we, having neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres shoulde cease by losse of him, should be either authour, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the judgment of such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but do measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had bene true that we had bene any way chargeable, (as the author reporteth,) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter, as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and published; for malice leaveth nothing unsearched that may nourish the venime of that humour.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can holde in this unfortunate age, that overfloweth with nombers of malignant spirits, is, through the grace and goodnesse of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather shewe their willes through malice, than with just cause with desert to say ill or deface princes, either by speach or writing: assuring our selves, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellours shall receive at the handes of the Almightie for depraving of princes and lawfull magistrates, who are God's ministers, they both are, and alwayes shall be thought by

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all good men, unworthie to live upon the face of the earth.

Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585; and the 27th yeere of the reigne of our soveraigne lady the queene; to be published.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the queene of England, her most excellent majestie. 1585.

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

TWO VOLUMES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. *Corrections of some mistakes in the two first volumes; sent to me by Mr. Granger, in Devonshire.*

2. *A letter written to me by Anthony Wood, in justification of his History of the University of Oxford: with reflections upon it, referred to alphabetically.*

3. *A letter to Mr. Ausont, which was translated into French, upon his procuring for me a censure in writing, made in Paris upon the first volume of my History of the Reformation.*

4. *Corrections of the two volumes of the History of the Reformation.*

5. *Some remarks, sent me by another hand.*

6. *Observations and corrections of the two volumes of that History, by Mr. Strype.*

AN

APPENDIX, &c.

Number 1.

Corrections of the first volume of the History of the Reformation; sent to me by Mr. Granger, in Devonshire.

P. 106. l. 3. from bottom. *I cannot imagine what moved the lord Herbert, who saw those letters, to think that the cardinal did not really intend the divorce.*] Possibly, beside the paper of instructions here mentioned, the testimony of king Henry, p. 147. that the cardinal had always opposed it; and the information given the king, p. 155. of his having juggled in this business.

P. 523. l. 3. from bottom. *But in England it went otherwise. And when the order of the knights templars was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by escheat.*] *Quære*, Because by the statute *de Terris Templariorum*, neither the king nor the lords were to have by escheat the lands that were the templars; but those lands were to remain to the prior and brethren of the order of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

P. 625. l. 25. *The lord Cromwell also had his writ, though I do not find by any record that he was restored in blood.*] He had his writ, not by virtue of any restoration in blood, but of his creation by patent: neither the day his father was created earl; as Mr. Fulman hath it, following Dr. Fuller; but five months after his father's death, viz. the 18th of December, in the 32d of Henry VIII. when he was created baron of this realm, by the title only of lord Cromwell, but not distinguished by any place. Vide sir W. Dugdale's Hist. of the Baronage.

P. 657. l. 28. *Dr. Lee, dean of York.*] *Quære*, if not for Dr. Leighton.

P. 733. l. 9. *they (viz. the schoolmen and canonists) studied to make bishops and priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small.*] Though most of the schoolmen asserted bishops and priests to be of the same order, for the reason here specified, their being equally appointed to the consecration of the eucharist, which they thought to be the highest and most perfect function; yet they allowed the bishops a superiority of jurisdiction, which some of them were content to call a superior order; as the canonists did also generally, notwithstanding their endeavours to depress the episcopal authority for the advancement of the papal.

Corrections of the second volume.

P. 1. l. ult. *lost his mother the day after he was born.*] Yourself say two days after, in the Appendix of tom. i. p. 443. His Journal says, a few days after.

P. 2. note. *On the 17th, if the letter of the physicians be true, in Fuller's Church History.*] It was copied from its original in the Cotton library; and yourself give credit to them, in the forecited place of your Appendix.

P. 51. l. 9. *Ridley is said to be elect of Rochester, and designed for that see by king Henry.*] *Quære*, How? When in the commission granted for the examination, whether the marquis of Northampton could lawfully marry, after the divorcement of his wife Anne for adultery? bearing date three months after the death of king Henry, even May the 7th, 1 Edward VI. Holbeck was bishop of Rochester, and not at that time translated to Lincoln.

P. 88. l. penult. *excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's courts.*] The archbishop might only use his own name and seal for faculties and dispensations; being in all other cases as much restrained as other bishops.

P. 112. l. 12. *nor is it reasonable to imagine that the*

duchess of Somerset should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the queen dowager.] She is acknowledged to have been an insolent woman, p. 400. and to have had a great power over her husband; where it is assigned as the chief cause of procuring an act of parliament for the disinheriting, and excluding from his honours, his children by his former wife.

P. 185. l. 21. *the council of Trullo in the fifth age.*] In the latter end of the seventh, or rather in the beginning of the eighth.

P. 197. l. 8. *a general rule being laid down, that every Christian festival should be preceded by a fast.*] The festivals between Easter and the Ascension-day were not so, on the pretended reason that the Bridegroom was with them; as also Michaelmas.

P. 338. l. 24. *about which one Carr writ a copious and passionate letter to sir John Cheek.*] Nicholas Carr, regius professor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge, and a great restorer of learning in that university.

P. 363. l. 21. *though I have seen it often said, in many letters and writings of that time, that all that issue by Charles Brandon was illegitimated, since he was certainly married to one Mortimer before he married the queen of France, which Mortimer lived long after his marriage to that queen; so that all her children were bastards. Some say he was divorced from his marriage to Mortimer, but that is not clear to me.*] Charles Brandon first married Margaret, one of the daughters of John Nevil, marquis Mountague, widow of sir John Mortimer. Secondly, Anne, daughter of sir Anthony Browne, by whom he had issue, after marriage, Mary, wedded to Thomas Stanley, lord Monteagle. Thirdly, Mary, queen of France, as sir William Dugdale hath it in the text; though in the scheme adjoined by him, the order is inverted: first, Anne; second, Margaret, but *repudiata*; third, Mary.

P. 405. l. 2. *one Traheron.*] Bartholomew Traheron, afterward made lecturer of divinity at Frankfort, on the new

moulding of the congregation there, in queen Mary's days; and dean of Chichester in queen Elizabeth's.

P. 503. l. 29. *Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, was licensed under the great seal to cover his head in the queen's presence: the only peer on whom this honour was ever conferred, as far as I know.*] Dr. Fuller assures us in his Church History, book ix. p. 167. that he had seen a charter granted by king Henry the VIIIth, the 16th of July, in the 18th of his reign, and confirmed by act of parliament, to Francis Brown (a commoner); giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king, and his heirs; and not to put it off, but for his own ease and pleasure.

P. 545. l. 13. *There was one Harding that had been her father's chaplain.*] Thomas Harding, afterward antagonist to bishop Jewel.

P. 554. l. 13. *Chichester, a much meaner bishoprick.*] Wells had lately been much impoverished by the alienations in Barlow's time; the regret whereof might probably make him less desirous of returning to it. Afterward its profits were raised by the lead mines, about bishop Stillingfleet's time: however, it is valued in the king's books but 535*l.* whereas Chichester is 677*l.*

Ibid. l. 18. Bishop Harley is said to have been deprived, because married, by Fox and Godwin, though no notice be taken of it in the order.

P. 612. l. 15. *Alphonsus, a Franciscan friar, his confessor.*] Alphonsus à Castro, famous for his treatise *de Hæresibus.*

P. 805. l. 10. *according to a method often used in their elections.*] There had been but one election since the prior and monks were changed into a dean and prebendaries.

Number 2.

A letter written to me by Anthony Wood, in justification of his History of the University of Oxford, with reflections on it; referred to alphabetically.

SIR,

YOUR book of *The Reformation of the Church of England* I have latelie perused, and finding myself mentioned therin, not without some discredit, I thought fit to vindicate my self so far in these animadversions following, that you may see your mistakes, and accordingly rectifie them (if you think fit) in the next part that is yet to publish.

P. 172. l. 19. *But after he has set down the instrument, he gives some reasons, &c.*

The two first reasons (if they may be so called) [a] *were put in by another hand;* and the other were taken from these three books following, [b] viz. from Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeild's *Treatise concerning Marriage, &c.* which is a fair manuscript in folio; written either in the time of queen Marie, or in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, and 'tis by me quoted in my book, in the place excepted against. From Will. Forest's *Life of Queen Catherine,* written in the raigne of queen Marie, and dedicated to her. 'Tis a manuscript also, and written verie fairlie in parchment. [c] From *An Apologie for the Government of the Universitie against King Henry the VIIIth.* Written by a master of arts *septimo Elizabethæ.* 'Tis a manuscript also, and hath all the king's letters therin, written to the universitie about the question of marriage and divorce, with several passages relating to convocations concerning the said questions.

So that by this you see I do not frame those reasons out of mine owne head (as partiall men might) but what other authours dictate to me.

[a] I could not know this: he publishes them, and is justly to be charged with them.

[b] From such authorities what else was to be expected?

[c] This, as Dr. Lloyd informs me, is Parsons's book, an author of no better credit than the former; for he was a master of arts in Balliol college, in queen Elizabeth's time. See Wood in Ball. Coll.

P. 172. l. 21. (*upon what design I cannot easily imagine,*)
No designe at all God-wot, but meerlie for truth's sake, which verie few in these dayes will deliver.

Ibid. l. 24. *and, as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the universities of it, &c.*

It was an ill thing I think, (I am sure it was taken so to be,) for a prince by his letters to frighten[d] people out of their conscience, and by menaces force them to say what must please him. But seeing the masters would not be frightned, and therefore they were laid aside, (the matter being discussed by a few old timerous doctors and batchellors of divinity, who would say any thing to please the king, least danger should follow,) they ought to be commended, or at least justified for keeping their consciences safe.

Ibid. l. 27. *and, without any proof, gives credit to a lying story set down by Sanders, of an assembly called in the night.*

Sanders is not my authour, for he says no such thing in his book *de Schismaste*, of an assembly[e] called by night; my author for this is the Apologie before mentioned, which adds, that "when a regent of Baliol college (whom they called "king Henry) heard that the commissarie, and his com-"pany, were going to dispatch this night work, denied the "seale with his breeches about his shoulders, for want of a "hood." See in *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 256. A[f]. The truth is, the meeting was unseasonable, and their

[d] I do not find there was any frightening threateninge; none appear in the king's letters. If he had this from any good authors, he had done well to have quoted them. It is not honourable for the university, as it is not probable, to represent all the doctors and bachelors of divinity, as men apt to be frightened out of their consciences; and that only the masters of arts were impregnable. It is rather to be supposed that the one sort were carried away by faction; and that the others were guided by learning and conscience.

[e] He says it was called *clam;* that could hardly be, but in the night: so this is no material difference. In the rest you agree with Sanders.

[f] I see no reason for this. The instrument set forth by the lord Herbert shews, that the persons deputed had good authority to set the university seal to their determination: and they were not tied to forms, but might have done it at any time.

actions clancular; as being protested against by, and done without the consent of the regents. And as for Sanders, though I cannot well defend him, yet many things in his book *de Schismate*, especially those relating to the universitie of Oxford, I find from other places to be true [g].

P. 172. l. 30. *But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other instrument, to which the university set their seal.*

The grand collection, or farrago, which Mr. Thomas Masters made, (by the lord Herbert's appointment,) in order to the writing of king Henry the VIIIth's Life, I have seen and perused, but could not with all my diligence find that instrument (as you call it, yet we, an act, or decree) of convocation; neither in the three great folio's, written by another hand, containing materials at large for the said Life; neither in any of the registers, records, or papers belonging to the universitie. So that for these reasons, and that because the lord Herbert says, "it was blurred, and not intended for the king," and also not under seal, (you say 'twas,) neither passed in the house by the majority of votes; therefore did I omit it, as not authentick. [h] I truly believe, or at least have good grounds to think, that it was only drawn up, and not proposed; for if it had, it would have been registred: there being nothing proposed, either in convocation or congregation, but is registred, whether denied, or not.

[g] Yes, such authors as you quote: you say you cannot well defend Sanders. It seems you would if you could. These are soft words concerning that scandalous writer.

[h] All that you say here is only negative authority; but since the lord Herbert says he saw the original, though it is not in any of these collections, you must either believe it, or make him a liar: and if it was an original, it must either have been subscribed by the hands of the persons deputed, or must have had the seal put to it. The beginning of it shews it was not subscribed; for it is in the name of John Cattisford, their commissary: so it must have been either in the form of a notary's instrument, or must have had the seal put to it, for he calls it an original. Perhaps the blurring of it might either be casual, or when it was brought to court, the king might have made some alterations in it, that it might be renewed according to these corrections. [s] *It might be casual; lord Herbert says not that it was rased out, &c.*

[s] These words in *Italics* are in the bisho of Worcester's hand.

And the register of that time is most exactly kept; and nothing thence, as I can perceive, is torn out.

P. 173. l. 11. *There seems to be also another mistake in the relation he gives: for he says, those of Paris had determined in this matter.*

I say [i] so from Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of the university; who in his letters thereunto desires the members "to make what expedition they could, "to give in their answer to the king's question; forasmuch "as Paris and Cambridge had done it already."—For this I quote the book of *Epistles*, in Archiv. Lib. Bod. MS. epist. 197. Yet, I believe, the archbishop said this, to hasten the university of Oxon the more; tho' probably it was not so. However, I am not to take notice of that, but to follow record as I find it. And that I do follow record throughout all my book, there is not one (I presume) of the senate of antiquaries can deny it: and therefore, how there can be many things in my book (of my framing) that are enemies to the reformation of the church of England, as was suggested by you to sir Harbottle Grimston, (who thereupon made a complaint in open parliament, last April, against the said book,) I cannot see [k]. Truth ought to take place; and must not be concealed, especially when 'tis at a distance. And if our religion [l] hath had its original, or base, on lust, blood, ruin, and desolation, (as all religions, or alterations in governments, have had from one or more of them,) why should it be hidden, seeing it is so obvious to all curious searchers into record.

This is all from him
that studies truth,
Anthony à Wood.

July the 5th, 1679.

[i] In this you had a warrant for what you wrote, but I had a better to correct it by.

[k] I do profess I do not remember that I ever mentioned your book to him: and sir Harbottle himself, when I asked him the question, said, he never heard me speak of it.

[l] This is writ very indecently, neither like a divine nor a Christian.

Number 3.

A letter to Mr. Ausont, which was translated into French, upon his procuring for me a Censure in writing, made in Paris, upon the first volume of my History of the Reformation.

SIR, *Paris, the 10th of August*, 1685.

WHEN I came last to Paris, I was told there was a *Censure* of the first volume of my *History of the Reformation* going about in writing. I was glad to hear of this, when I was upon the place, ready either to justify myself, or to acknowledge such mistakes as should be offered to me: for I am ready, upon conviction, to retract any thing that may have fallen from my pen, as soon as I see cause for it, with all the freedom and candour possible. I should be much more out of countenance, to persist in an error, when I am convinced of it, than to acknowledge, that in such a multitude of matters of fact, of which my History makes mention, I might have been misinformed in some particulars, and have mistaken others; which I was resolved to rectify, when discovered, in another edition. This made me very desirous to see what it was that had been objected to me; and I am much obliged to you for procuring me a sight of it, for which I return you my most humble thanks.

When I had read it over and over again, I confess I was amazed to find, that he who censured me so severely had read my book so slightly; and yet gives way to his passions, with so little judgment, and with less sincerity, that, among all the things that he charges me with, there should not be one single particular that might give me occasion to shew my readiness to retract what I had written.

What can be expected from a writer, who, after the list I had given of the many gross errors of which Sanders's History was made up, says, "That I have proved that he has "failed in some circumstances that may seem to aggravate "the matter more or less?" If any man will be at the pains to read what I have proved, of the falsehoods in that author, and compare it with the mild censure here given; he will see cause to be ashamed of it, and will look for little sin-

cerity, after so false a step made in the beginning. From this, he goes on to his main design; and runs out into an invective against king Henry the VIIIth, for his incontinences, and other violences.

If I had undertaken to write a panegyric, or to make a saint of king Henry, he might have triumphed over me as much as he pleased. But I, who have neither concealed nor excused any of his faults, am no way concerned in all this.

There are only two things that I advance, with relation to that prince.

The first is, that whatsoever his secret motives might have been, in the suit of the divorce, he had the constant tradition of the church on his side, and that in all the ages and parts of it; which was carefully searched into, and fully proved: so that no author, elder than cardinal Cajetan, could be found to be set against such a current of tradition. And in the disputes of that age, with those they called heretics, all that wrote of the popish side made their appeal always to tradition, as the only infallible expounder of scripture: and it was looked on as the character of an heretic, to expound the scripture by any other key or method. So that king Henry had this clearly with him.

The other particular that I make remarks on is, that the reformation is not at all to be charged with king Henry's faults: for that unsteady favour and protection, which they sometimes found from him, can signify no more to blemish them, than the vices of those princes that were the great promoters of Christianity signify to cast a blemish on the Christian religion. Let the crimes of king Clovis, as they are related by Gregory of Tours, be compared with the worst things that can be said of king Henry; and then let any man see if he finds so much falsehood, mixed with so much cruelty, in so many repeated acts, and in such a number of years, in king Henry the VIIIth, as he will find in king Clovis. Nor do we see any hints of Clovis's repentance, or of any restitution made by him, of those dominions that he had seized on in so criminal a manner, to the right heirs; without which, according to our maxims, his repent-

ance could not be accepted of God. And this was the first Christian king of the Franks.

I do not comprehend what his design could be, in justifying pope Gregory the VIIth's proceedings against the emperor, Henry the IVth, with so much heat. One that reads what he writes on this subject can hardly keep himself from thinking, that he had something in his eye that he durst not speak out more plainly; but that he would not be sorry if Innocent the XIth should treat the great monarch as Gregory the VIIth did the emperor, and as Paul the IIId did king Henry the VIIIth. But whatsoever his own thoughts may be, I desire he would not be so familiar with my thoughts, as to infer this from any concession of mine; for I allow no authority to the bishops of Rome out of their own diocese. The additional dignity that they came to have flowed from the constitution of the Roman empire; and since Rome is no more the seat of empire, it has lost all that primacy which was yielded to it merely by reason of the dignity of the city. So that as Byzance, from being a small bishopric, became a patriarchal seat upon the exaltation of that city; by the same rule, upon the depression of Rome, the bishops of that see ought to have lost all that dignity, that was merely accidental. But suppose I should yield, according to the notion commonly received in the Gallican church, that the pope is the *conservator of the canons*; that will signify nothing, to justify their deposing of princes; except he can shew what those canons were, upon the violation of which, princes may be deposed. If he flies to the canons of the fourth council in the Lateran, those, being made about one hundred and fifty years after pope Gregory's proceedings against the emperor, will not justify what was done so long before these were made. When he thinks fit to speak out more plainly upon this head, it will be more easy to answer him.

As for the supremacy that king Henry the VIIIth assumed in ecclesiastical matters, he should not have condemned that so rashly as he does, as a novelty, till he had first examined the reasons upon which it was founded; not

only those drawn from the scriptures, but those that were brought from the laws and practices, both of the Roman emperors and of the kings of England. His thoughts or his pen run too quick, when he condemned the following those precedents, as a novelty, without giving himself the trouble of inquiring into the practices of former ages.

He charges me with flying to the rasure of the registers in queen Mary's time, and to the burning of others in the fire of London, for proving several things, for which I could bring no better vouchers; and for relying so often on a passionate writer. I suppose Fox is the person hereby pointed at.

When he applies the general censure to any particular in my work, I will then shew that it amounts to nothing. I often stop, and shew that I can go no further, for want of proof: and when I give presumptions from other grounds, to shew what was done, I may well appeal to the rasure or loss of records, for the want of further proof. But this I never do upon conjectures, or slight grounds. And as for Fox, I make a great difference between relying upon what he writes barely upon report, (which I never do,) and relying upon some registers, of which he made abstracts. For having observed an exact fidelity in all that he took out of such registers as do yet remain, I have reason to depend on such abstracts as he gives of registers that are now destroyed. He might be too credulous in writing such things as were brought him by report; and in these I do not depend on him: but he was known to be a man of probity; so I may well believe what he delivers from a record, though that happens now to be lost.

The censure is next applied to Cranmer's character. He observes great defects in my *sincerity* and (to let me see how civilly he intends to use me, he says he will not add) *my want of judgment.* I am sure he has shewed a very ill judgment in charging me so severely in so tender a point as *sincerity*, and using a reserve in another point, that does not touch me so much. I am accountable both to God and man for my *sincerity;* but I am bound to have no more

judgment than God has given me; and so long as I maintain my *sincerity* entire, I have little to answer for, though I may be defective in the other: but I leave it to you to judge whether the defect was in his *sincerity* or his *judgment*, when he does not bring any one particular against Cranmer, but what he takes from me. So if I have confessed all his faults, and yet give a character of him that is inconsistent with these, I may be justly charged for want of *judgment*; but my *sincerity* is still untainted. When he reckons up his charges against Cranmer, he begins with this, that he was put out of his college for his incontinence. He was then a layman, under no vows, only he held a place, of which he was incapable after he was married; now what sort of crime can he reckon this marriage, I leave it to himself to make it out. His next charge is, that though I say he was a Lutheran, yet he signed the six articles, which, he says, proves that he valued his benefice more than his conscience.

He wrote this with too much precipitation, otherwise he would have seen that Cranmer never signed those articles. He disputed much against them before they passed into a law: nor could he be prevailed on, though the king pressed him to it, to abstain from coming to the parliament while that act passed. He came and opposed it to the last; and, even after the law was made, he wrote a book for the king's use against these articles. There was no clause in the act that required that they should be signed. Men were only bound to silence and submission. If he was at all faulty, with relation to that act, it was only in this, that he did not think himself bound to declare openly against it when it was published. From this, he goes next to charge him for consenting to the dissolution of king Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleve, upon grounds plainly contrary to those upon which his first marriage with Catherine of Spain was dissolved: since one pretence in the divorce of Anne of Cleve was, that it was not consummated, though in the other it was declared that a marriage was complete, though not consummated. Whatever is to be said of this matter

the whole convocation was engaged in it. Gardiner promoted it the most of any. So the bishops, who were so zealous for popery in queen Mary's time, were as guilty as Cranmer. I do not deny that he shewed too much weakness in this compliance. He had not courage enough to swim against the stream: and he might think that the dissolving a marriage, the parties being contented, was not to be much withstood. But my censurer is afraid to touch on the chief ground on which that marriage was dissolved; which was, that the king gave not a pure, inward consent to it; for this touches a tender point of the intention of the minister in the sacrament; on which I did not reflect when I wrote my History. By the doctrine of the church of Rome, the parties are the ministers; so, if the intention was wanting, there was no sacrament in this marriage. This having been the common doctrine of the church of Rome, some remnant of that might have too great an effect on Cranmer. But if the consenting to an unjust sentence, in a time of much heat, and of a general consternation, is so criminal a thing, what will he make of Liberius, Filix, Ossius, and many more, whose names are in the Roman calendar. The carrying this too far will go a great way to the justifying the Luciferians. Whatever may be in this, I had opened the matter of Anne of Cleve so impartially, that I deserve no censure on that account.

After he had attacked the matter of my History in these particulars, he falls next upon my way of writing. In this, I confess, I am not so much concerned; for if the things are truly related by me, I can very easily bear all the reflections that he can lay on my way of writing. But, that he may censure me with a better grace, he bestows some good words on me. "He is not displeased with my preface, and "the beginning of my work: but all these hopes were soon "blasted; I fall into a detail of little stories, with which he "was quite disgusted." Yet if he had considered this better, he would have been milder in his censure. My design was to shew what seeds and dispositions were still in the minds of many in this nation, that prepared them for a

reformation, in the beginning of king Henry's reign, before ever Luther had preached in Germany, and several years before that king's divorce came to be treated of in England. I therefore judged it was necessary for me to let the reader know what I found in our registers of those matters; how that many were tried, and some condemned upon those opinions, that were afterwards reckoned among the chief grounds of our separating from the church of Rome. It seemed a necessary introduction to my work, to open this as I found it upon record. My censurer blames me for not opening more copiously what the opinions of the Lollards and the Wicklifists were: he may see in these articles that I mention what the clergy were then charging them with, and what was confessed by those who were brought into their courts. I wrote in English for my own countrymen. There are many books that give a very particular account of Wickliff and his followers: this being so well known, it was not necessary for me to run this matter up to its original; all that was incumbent on me, was to shew the present state of that party, and their opinions and sufferings in the beginning of the reign of king Henry: so that a fair judge will not think that a few pages spent in opening this was too great an imposition on his patience; this having such a relation to my main design in writing. It is he, and not I, that has transgressed Polybius's rule: he considers these particulars as little stories, without observing the end for which I set them down; though I have made that appear so plainly, that I have more reason to complain of his sincerity than of his judgment.

His next exception is, that I give abstracts of the reasons on which the proceedings in the reformation were grounded. He thinks that in this I plead as an advocate, and do not write as an historian. I do believe there are few things in my History with which he is more displeased than this. I give no reasons of my own making, nor do I put speeches in the mouths of our reformers; though if I had done this, he knows that I could have said that I followed the precedents set me by the best writers of history, both among

the Greeks and the Romans. But since I was engaged to write of a reformation of errors in doctrine, and of abuses in worship and government, I must have been very defective, if I had not set out the reasons upon which those of that time went, as well as I related the series of what was done by them. Both father Paul, and cardinal Palavicini, in the histories that they wrote of the council of Trent, have related the arguments used of all sides very copiously. In political matters, the chief use and beauty of history is the laying open the secret reasons of state upon which all parties have proceeded: and certainly those who write concerning matters of religion, ought to open all that comes in their way of the grounds on which any changes were made.

He thinks all the king's reasonings for the divorce were fully answered by queen Catherine's reasons against it: but he does not consider that he is in a communion, in which tradition is set up, as that which must decide all controversies. King Henry's arguments run all upon tradition; whereas the queen pretended to no tradition, but only brought arguments of another sort, which was the way of those called heretics: but in that matter the king insisted upon tradition, the great topic of papists. He censures me for bringing a Jew on the stage after I had set out the opinions of the universities: but it seemed very reasonable to shew the notions that the Jews had of their own laws.

He returns again to reflections on the divorce of Anne of Cleve. It seems he had few things to reflect on, when in so short a paper he returns twice to the same matter. From her he passes to Anne Bullen: he fancies my whole design in writing was to establish her descent; but that I do not acquit her mother of the imputations Sanders had laid on her; nor herself of the amours in the court of France, and king Henry's ill commerce with her. If the crown of England had remained in a line derived from that queen, it might be supposed that some would have wrote on such a design: but that not being the case, there is little reason to think that any man would have given himself the trouble, only on design to justify her title to the crown. I have

made it fully out that a great part of Sanders's charge on her was an ill invented calumny, to bring her right to the crown in question; and, by proving some part of his relation to be false, I have destroyed the credit of the whole. I cannot be obliged to prove the negative in every particular, the proof lies upon the affirmative; and the author of a train of defamation is sufficiently disproved, when it is apparent that some parts of his relation must certainly be false. If any of these slanders had been in any sort believed in that time, there is no reason to think that the pope or the emperor would have published them: for the court of Rome kept none of the measures of common decency with the king. Nor were these things objected to Anne Bullen after that her unhappy fate gave some colour to believe every thing to her prejudice. Her brother and she did both at their death deny all criminal commerce together: nor was any thing proved against them, only the testimony of a dead woman was alleged to destroy them.

His last charge relates to More and Fisher; but how this comes to support his censure of my manner of writing is not so clear. I seem in these matters to write like one that intended to raise their character, rather than to depress it: nor do I justify king Henry's violences, but set them out as there is occasion for it. More knew a law was made, requiring the subjects to swear to the king as supreme head, under the pain of perpetual imprisonment; upon which he ought to have gone out of England, since he resolved not to take the oath. Fisher knew that the Nun of Canterbury had in very indecent words foretold the king's death, and had not revealed it, as he ought to have done.

He says my History reflects much on the memory of king Henry. I did not undertake to write a panegyric on him, but only to write the history of that time: in doing this, as I have discovered the injustice of many scandals that have been cast on him, so I have not spared to lay open many ill practices, when I was obliged to do it, by that impartial sincerity to which I obliged myself when I undertook that work: though he charges me as biassed by partiality;

a censure I deserved not. But I do more easily submit to his charging me with my ignorance of law, and of ecclesiastical antiquity. Such general censures are little to be regarded: when he is at leisure to reckon up the particulars in which I have erred, I shall be very glad to be instructed by him. For though I have looked a little into law and ecclesiastical history, yet I value myself upon nothing but my sincerity. It is very easy to lay a detracting character in some general words upon any person. The artifice is so commonly practised, that it will not pass upon any, but those who by some prejudices are prepared to take down every thing that is boldly asserted. It seems that how great a mind soever he had to find fault, he could not find much matter for his spleen to work on, when in so short a paper he is forced to return in three several places to the article of the divorce of Anne of Cleve: and he shews such an inclination to censure, that I have no reason to think he would have spared me, if he had found greater matters to have objected to me. So all he says that seems to intimate that, must pass for words of course, which ought to make no impression.

Number 4.

Corrections of the two volumes of the History of the Reformation.

Vol. I. edit. 2.

P. 8. l. 1. *the emperor broke his word,—the cardinal dissembled his resentments*, &c.] I have seen a collection of this cardinal's letters; and amongst them, the same letter (I suppose) that is here quoted: wherein he presses the emperor's, and the king his master's, interest with great zeal; and solicits the new elected pope to join with them against the French; and that in such a manner, as seems to leave no room for dissimulation. To the same purpose in the following letter. *Collect. MS.* p. 27, 43.

P. 37. l. 16. *the king sent—the bishop of Rochester, &c. to sit in that council.*] The bishop of Rochester, &c. was in-

tended to be sent this year, and again an. 1513-14: but his journey was stopped; as appears both by his own account of this matter, and by a MS. Latin Life I have of this bishop, and otherwise.

P. 45. l. 2. *These houses being thus suppressed by the law, they belonged to the king.*] This seems not to agree with what is said p. 523 of this volume.

P. 52. l. 11. *W. Sautre—burnt by writ* de hæretico comb.—*upon what grounds of law I cannot tell.*] Nor will I pretend to say: but from Fitzherbert it seems to appear, that this writ issued before this act of parliament passed; [Fox places Sautre's death anno 1400.] and that the custom for the writ had been formerly so. *De Natura Brevium*, p. 269.

Ibid. l. 17. *relating to the customs beyond sea.*] From the same Fitzherbert, it appears pretty plain this was the customary punishment in England: who quotes Breton, cap. 17. (cap. 9. it should be) "Heretikes sert auxi com-"burs et arces, et appiert per ceo Liver, que ceo est le "Comen Ley. Quod vide in Breton, c. 17." Who lived many years before.

P. 63. marg. *the king writes against Luther.*] No doubt this book was wrote by the king, as other books were, under his name; that is, by his bishops, or other learned men. Sir Thomas More (who must have known the authors) gives this account of it in his MS. Life by Roper: "That after it "was finished by his grace's appointment, and consent of "the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out, and "placer of the principal matters therein contained." So it seems others were makers, and sir Thomas More only a sorter. By the style, it was guessed by some to be wrote by Erasmus; and he (in mirth I suppose) owns the king might have hit upon his style, several letters having passed between them.

P. 74. l. 15. *made Longland, bishop of Lincoln,—possess the king's mind in confession.*] In a MS. Life of sir Thomas More, wrote not many years after Longland's death, this account is given. "I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his

" [Longland's] chaplain and chancellor, say, that he once " told the bishop what rumor ran; and desired to know of " him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed " he did not break the matter after that sort as is said; " but the king brake the matter to him first; and never " left urging him until he had won him to give his consent. " Of which his doings, he did sore forethink himself, and " repented afterward, &c." *MS. Coll. Eman. Cant.*

P. 83. l. 13. *There is great reason to think Rastal never writ such a book as the Life of sir Thomas More.*] I do not think the book was of great authority; but he wrote such a book undoubtedly. I have seen, *Certen breef notes appertaining to bishope Fyshere; collected out of sir Thomas More's Life, written by Mr. Justice Restall;* which may be produced, wrote near that time.

P. 161. l. 5. from bottom. *Then was his palace of York house—seized on for the king*, &c.] The house of his see could not be forfeited or seized: it was conveyed over by him to the king; (the conveyance confirmed by the dean and chapter of York.) So his Life by Cavendish, ch. 18. and others.

P. 163. l. 7. from bottom. *lieutenant of the Tower.*] Sir W. Kingston was constable of the Tower. So Cavendish, ch. 20.

P. 167. l. 17. *another bill, which because of its singular nature—and was not printed.*] This bill was not singular: for an. 35 Hen. VIII. there passed a bill of the like, or an higher nature, which is printed in the Book of Statutes, an. 1544. being an act for the remission of the loan, an. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

P. 171. 172. Your lordship is very hard upon the Oxford historian. He had other vouchers besides Sanders; one of which I have seen in MS. but do not commend his prudence in the representation of that matter.

P. 173. Your lordship having been very nice in placing the determination of Oxford before that of the Sorbon, I presume your lordship meant the same exactness in placing Oxford before Cambridge; and yet it passed here before it

did at Oxford; and was delivered to the king at Windsor, before Palm-Sunday, by Dr. Buckmaster, vice-chancellor, &c. an. 1529-30. I have a letter from Dr. Buckmaster to Dr. Edmonds, master of Peterhouse, (the same whom your lordship mistakes for Edmund Bonner,) dated from Cambridge *in crastino Dominic. Palmarum*, after his return from Windsor, giving some account of that matter, not very much to our advantage. But I will not imitate the Oxford historian; though I may do him this right, to say, that in the conclusion of his letter, speaking of the proceedings at Oxford, (which, it seems, were tumultuary,) he adds, "I hear say also, that Mr. Provost" (it seems Fox was sent down thither likewise) "was there in great jeo-"pardy." That is the word; which, I suppose, implies danger.

P. 174. l. 17. *sixteen bachelors.*] Skip, Hadway, Deye, Bayne, &c. were only *masters of arts*, as appears by the register: so I suppose, by *magistri in theologiâ*, may be meant, masters of arts, that were *divines* as well as *bachelors.*

P. 180. marg. *No money nor bribes given for subscriptions.*] The act of parliament, an. 1 Mar. chap. 1. charges corruption with money—on the foreign universities,—and sinister working, secret threatenings, &c. on our own. There are several private authorities to the same purpose; but I am not concerned to make them good.

P. 184. l. 4. *Crook died before he could receive a reward.*] He lived many years after, to the reign of queen Mary; and had the reward due to his ingratitude to his patron, who had provided for him. He is well known at Cambridge, as well as at Oxford.

P. 206. l. 3. *Laurence—excommunicated king Edbald—*] Laurence did not excommunicate Edbald, nor could he, Edbald being yet a heathen; and, upon his conversion, he put away his wife. *Bed. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 5, 6. *Malms.* lib. i. [But I suppose your lordship may follow your authority; and then all is well.

P. 208. l. 5. *I could never see either MSS. or printed books—except Cajetan's and Victoria's.*] There was a book

printed at Lunenburgh, anno 1532, dedicated to the emperor's ambassador in England, Eustathius Chapnyius, &c. It is against the divorce; and charges very indirect practices on the other side, by monies, and bribes, &c. Cochleus likewise wrote against the divorce, *ad Paulum Tertium*; but whether his book was printed before the year 1535 I do not know. It was then printed in quarto.

P. 209. l. ult. *married his own sister*, &c.] Not his own sister, but his wife's own sister; or the sister of one whom he had carnally known. *Antonin. Flor.* par. iii. tit. 1. cap. 11.

P. 261. l. 12. *This protestation—he repeated when he took the oath to the pope*;] That is, publicly, and at his consecration. I know this has been said; but I wish it could be proved. I have two letters (MSS. Latin) of cardinal Pole to archbishop Cranmer; wherein he charges him with having done it only in a private manner; and brands his proceeding therein with such expressions, as I am unwilling to transcribe. I have likewise seen a copy of this protestation, attested by public notaries; wherein it is said to have been made in St. Stephen's chapel; but nothing of its being repeated at his consecration. If your lordship has met with any thing to destroy these testimonies, I shall be very glad.

P. 278. l. 8. *letter—to Reginald (soon after cardinal) Pole.*] He was then cardinal; for they exhort him to return to his duty to the king, and to surrender up his red hat. *Letter printed* cum priv.

P. 307. l. 22. *a crime of so high a nature was so slightly passed over.*] It was not passed over: for Stow says, (p. 561.) these friars, and all the rest of that order, were shortly after banished; and that after that none durst openly oppose themselves against the king's affections.

P. 314. l. 24. *prioress and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford*, or *Bedford*. Appen.] I suppose it should be the prioress and convent at Dartford, of the order of St. Austin. *Lambard*, p. 448. *Dugdale Mon.* vol. ii. p. 357.

P. 315. l. 17. *meeting of the privy-council at Lambeth*, &c.] Not privy-council, (as I suppose:) for it is there said, he came before the king's commissioners. The abbot of West-

minster, I suppose, was no privy counsellor; though he were a commissioner.

P. 321. l. 21. *John Hilsey not consecrated bishop of Rochester before* 1537.] I am not sure this has not been taken notice of; but I am very sure, from several authorities, that he was bishop an. 1535.

P. 336. l. 20. *one William Tracy of Gloucester—his will brought to the bishop of London's court.*] Tracy was of Toddington in Gloucestershire. If the register says it was brought into the bishop of London's court, there is no contradicting such authority. But Tyndall's exposition of Tracy's will says it was brought before the archbishop: and in Fox (Commentar. Lat. p. 125.) the archbishop is said to have committed the execution of this business to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester; in which diocese Gloucestershire then was. Nor do I see how it could be regularly brought into the bishop of London's court.

P. 377. l. 16. *Edward the Confessor founded Coventry*, &c.] "Coventry was not founded by Edward the Confessor, "but by count Leofric." *Monast.* vol. i. p. 303. *Hist. of Warw.* p. 100.

P. 381. l. 25. *Netherlands, where the greatest trade of these parts was driven*, &c.] Your lordship has been since better acquainted with the trade of the Indies; which was then (I suppose) chiefly divided betwixt the Spaniards and Portuguese, and the Netherlands had a very small share. Sir W. Temple, p. 75. gives this account: "Before the "revolt, the subjects of the Low Countries—never allowed "the trade of the Indies, but in the Spanish fleets, and "under Spanish covert, &c."

P. 427. l. 15. *Cromwell, the king's vicar-general—was not yet vicegerent.*] In a public instrument, in Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 109, (which we have upon our registers, and otherwise, MS.) dated October 22, 1535, Cromwell is styled "vicegerent" that year: and in the writ of summons, 1539, (in Dugdale,) he is styled "vicarius generalis." So that these two titles seem to have been used promiscuously.

P. 429. l. antepenult. *Alex. Alesse, a Scotchman—him Cromwell brought to the convocation*, &c.] An account of this conference is published by this Alex. Alesse; by him in Latin, translated into English by Edm. Alen; and he is there styled, *Alex. Alane, Scot.* He was sent for into England by the lord Cromwell and the archbishop; sent to Cambridge; driven thence; withdrew to London, where he studied, and practised physic certain years; met by chance with the lord Cromwell; who took him with him to Westminster; where he found all the bishops gathered together; unto whom all the bishops and prelates did rise up and did obedience as to their vicar-general; and he sat him down in the highest place. Then follows an account of the debate, and how the bishops were divided; but, I think, he places this meeting (I have not the book by me) in the year 1537. The book is without date, so it does not appear when it was printed.

P. 442. l. 2. *Book de Unitate Ecclesiastica.*] I have not seen the first edition of this book, being very scarce, and having been kept up in a few hands; but it was reprinted in Germany, an. 1555, said in the preface to have been printed fifteen years before; that is, about the year 1540: but I think there are some things said in the body of the book, that suppose it to be printed sooner. It was without date.

P. 449. l. 26.—*none of our writers have taken notice of this*] Dugdale, in his Monast. vol. iii. p. 21. has taken notice of two such new foundations, viz. Bisham, in Berks; and Stixwould, Linc.

P. 506. l. 4. *Cranmer—at that time of Luther's opinion.*] Cranmer at his trial being asked what doctrine he taught concerning this sacrament, when he condemned Lambert the sacramentary, expressly says, "I maintained then the "papists' doctrine." *Fox*, vol. iii. p. 656. Nor could he well otherwise have argued against Lambert, as he then did; to name no more authorities.

P. 513. l. 20. *all the parliament abbots had their writs.*] According to Dugdale, the abbots of St. Edmundsbury and

Tavestoke were not summoned to this parliament, April 28, 1539.

P. 534. l. 22. *the opposite party—Bonner*, &c.] This does not seem to agree with what is said after, p. 598. *Hitherto he* [Bonner] *had acted another part—now began to show his nature*, &c.

P. 592. l. 4. *but his friends complained to the king—he being a privy counsellor.*] Gardiner, in his declaration of such true articles, &c. printed an. 1546, 8vo. says, he complained himself to the king; and expressly says, "when "Barnes was sent to the Tower, I was not of the privy-"council." He seems not to have been much employed at this time, having been left out of the number of those that compiled the king's book, or not acting.

P. 608. l. 1. *Cranmer set out an order.*] This order I have seen printed, 1541, amongst archbishop Parker's papers, but it was with the consent of the other archbishop and most of the bishops.

P. 695. l. 5. *the coronation of the prince of Wales.*] I think *creation* is the usual term at this solemnity.

P. 699. l. 19. *to discover things—hitherto unknown.*] This has been taken notice of by Lesley, a noted author, and your lordship's countryman; and the testimonies of my lord Paget, sir Edward Montague, and this Clark there appealed to, after follows: "Quæ testimonia cum juramento "perhibita, postquam diligenter et circumspectè perpensa "atq; examinata fuissent, Maria regina de sententia consi-"liationum suorum, ad honorem Dei et regni, ad veritatis et "justitiæ patrocinium, et legitimæ in regnum successionis, "ad multa nefanda mala devitanda, quæ illa corruptione ex "illo figmento consecutura erant, jussit exemplar memo-"riale supposititi testamenti, quod extabat in cancellariâ "conscindi, expungi, aboleri tanquam indignum quod inter "vera et incorrupta nobilissimi regni exemplaria locum ob-"tineret." *Jo. Leslæus, de titulo et jure sereniss. principis Mariæ Scotiæ reginæ, quo regni Angliæ successionem sibi juste vindicat.* Rhemis, 1580, pp. 43, 44. I think it was published in English sooner.

P. 712. l. 24. *that Fisher and he penned the book.*] It is true sir Thomas More was only a sorter, and Fisher could be no more than one of the makers, though some have asserted it to be his work alone. But as to sir Thomas More's testimony, I think it may with much more reason be taken from Roper his son-in-law, who married his beloved daughter, and knew his inward thoughts, than from a letter to a minister of state, where *loquendum cum vulgo.* Your lordship is a very able judge of style, and of the elegancy wherewith this book is wrote: your lordship has given us a specimen of the king's style, in the marginal notes of the last page of this volume, p. 550. I dare appeal to your lordship whether you think the style to be the same. The last words are so elegant, that I cannot forbear reciting them. "Cum qua nec pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius prælatus "aut pontifex, habet quicquid agere, præterquam in suas "dioceses."

However, I am very willing the king should enjoy the honour of his book, provided I am allowed to enjoy my opinion.

Upon this occasion, I have only to add, that whereas this Life of sir Thomas More by Roper is somewhere cited, as printed, (if I am not mistaken,) I think I may be positive it was never printed. I have it in manuscript. Sir Thomas More's Life was twice printed, in 4to and in 8vo, and by different hands, but neither of them by Roper, though both of them have borrowed from him pretty freely.

P. 724. l. 19. *Gardiner—and three other priests—executed.*] Gardiner was executed, the other three were pardoned, according to an account I have seen, MS. Their names are there said to be master More, master Heyhode, and master Roper.

COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

P. 279. *Injunctions by Cromwell.*] These injunctions, exhibited anno 1538, were printed by Barthelet *cum priv.* containing some small variations, which might have been

noted in the margin, (as some other little things might,) but they are not considerable.

P. 314. *MSS. D. Stillingfleet.*] I can do your lordship that right to say, that these MSS. are published with faithfulness enough; only they might have been quoted as my lord Salisbury's, to whom they belong; and are probably two of these six or seven volumes, said, p. 348. of this volume, to have been in the hands of my lord Burghley.

I shall not enter into the criticism of T. Cantuarien. to Leighton's paper. The meaning is more plain in Robertson's; for he not having subscribed his name at the end of his paper, the archbishop might add his own to attest it; and Robertson's name afterwards appearing at the beginning of his paper, the bishop might dash his own name, as it now stands, if done by the same hand.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Vol. II. edit. 2.

P. 1. l. ult. *lost his mother the day after he was born.*] The king's Journal, printed by your lordship, says, "within "few days after the birth of her son, died." Geo. Lilly, who lived at the same time, and near the place, says, "Duo-"decimo post die moritur." *Chron.* And so the continuation of Fabian, Octob. 23. These seem to be the best authorities.

P. 34. l. 4. *the next day the seal was put into the lord St. John's hands.*] "29 Junii sigillum magnum Will. Paw-"let militi domino S. Jo. de Basing liberatum fuit. Pat. "1 Edw. VI. P. 4." *Dugdal. Orig. Jurid.*

P. 81. l. 13. *the lord Rich made lord chancellor on the 24th of Octob.*] "Rich. Rich Miles dominus Rich constitu-"tus cancellarius Angliæ 30. Nov. Pat. 1 Edw. VI. P. 3. "M. 14." *Dugdal. ibid.*

P. 119. l. ult. *there is another paper given in—but most of the fathers there cited are of the later ages,* &c.] The fathers and canons cited in that paper are, Hermes, Tertul-

lian, Origen, Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostome: the councils of Arles, Elvira, and Milevi. If any modern authorities are cited, I have not noted them.

P. 127. l. 22. *The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford, gave in their answers once in one paper.*] The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford's answers related to another set of questions.

Ibid. l. 29. *Cranmer's hand is over every one of them.*] Cranmer's hand is not over Richard Cox, nor W. Menevens. nor John Taylor's; who have subscribed their own names.

Ibid. l. 31. *Dr. Cox hath set his hand and seal to his answer.*] I can assure your lordship there is no mystery in this. Cox had sent in his paper folded, and closed with wax: the foldings yet remain, according to which foldings the paper had been sealed, which is now torn, where it had been sealed, and some of the paper left upon the wax.

P. 182. l. 9. *Bucer and Fagius invited over to England, and sent to Cambridge, where Fagius died soon after.*] This your lordship seems to place in the year 1548; whereas they did not leave Germany till April 1549, and Fagius died in November following. I have his will, proved Jan. 12, 1549.

P. 190. l. 27. *Thus had this matter been argued in books—written by Parker,* &c.] Parker's book was not wrote till the reign of queen Mary, "ad leniendum suum in illa Marianâ persecutione mœrorem," as said in his Life; nor published till the reign of queen Elizabeth, and could have no relation to this reign.

P. 206. l. 16. *What his behaviour was on the scaffold, I do not find.*] There is a pretty remarkable account of his death and behaviour in bishop Latimer's fourth sermon, edit. 1. p. 56. (left out of the following editions,) where, amongst other things, he says, "He [the admiral] dyed very "dangerously, yrksomelye, horryblye." And surely so he did, if the letters referred to by him on the scaffold were genuine, which Latimer says he saw.

P. 248. l. 4. *They were required to procure a resignation*

of some colleges, and to unite them with others, &c.] There were no other colleges to be suppressed, besides Clare Hall, in order to found a new college of civilians, either by uniting it to Trinity Hall, or by augmenting the number of Trinity Hall to twenty fellows; as appears by king Edward's statutes, (drawn up before the visitors came down,) compared with his Injunctions, (all upon the Black Book,) drawn up after.

Indeed Trinity Hall was to be surrendered, in order to the union, or new foundation; wherein Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then master, did good service: who refused to surrender; and that, I suppose, partly upon politic reasons. For had he parted with his old house, he would never have been made master of the new law college, though he were doctor both of the canon and civil law.

P. 249. l. 4. from bottom. *Mr. Cheek—was either put from the chair, or willingly left it to avoid the indignation of so great a man—as Gardiner was*, &c.] Cheek was not put from the chair; nor did he part with it till after he was sent for by the king to instruct the prince; as appears from the Account of the Life of his successor, Nicholas Carr, p. 59, and otherwise.

P. 267. l. 10. *The confusions this year occasioned that change to be made in the office of daily prayers; where the answer to the petition*, Give peace in our time, O Lord, *was now made*, Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.] This, my lord, I do not well understand: for this petition and answer stand in the first Liturgy of Edward the Sixth, fol. 4.

P. 318. l. 17. *the earl of Warwick—writ earnestly in his* [Hooper's] *behalf, to the archbishop, to dispense—with the oath of canonical obedience at his consecration*, &c.] The oath of canonical obedience (as printed in the form of consecration, an. 1549.) is so unexceptionable, that there seems to be no ground for scruple; being only a promise of all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop, &c. It seems to have been the oath of supremacy, which at that time contained expressions more liable to exception, being a

kind of &c.-oath, requiring obedience " to acts and statutes, " made or to be made;" and concluding with, " So helpe me " God, all sainctes," &c.

Fuller, who was once of opinion that it was the oath of canonical obedience that Hooper scrupled, yet altered his opinion (Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 22.) upon these, or such like reasons. If Parsons's authority were of any weight, he expressly says, it was the oath of supremacy. *De tribus Convers.* par. 3. ch. 6. sec. 68.

P. 318. l. 29. *John a Lasco, with a congregation of Germans, that fled from their country—upon the Interim*, &c.] " They were most of them Netherlanders, or French, (only " a few Germans,) and consequently not concerned with the " Interim; and the language they officiated in was the Low " German and French, &c." *Utenhov. Narrat. de Institut. et Dissipat. Belgarum*, &c. p. 12, 28, &c. " Those that " went off with A Lasco, were Low Germans, French, Eng- " lish, or Scots." Ib. p. 22. This seems confirmed, by what is said, p. 501 of this volume, of their being of the Helvetian Confession, and of their reception in Denmark. However, I am not positive, further than Utenhovius's account will bear me out, which I have not by me.

P. 334. l. penult. *Dr. Smith—was brought to London, upon complaints—Cranmer got his sureties to be discharged; upon which he writ him a letter—soon after he writ another letter to Cranmer*, &c.] These letters I have seen: I can assure your lordship they are wrote to Parker, not to Cranmer: and if your lordship has any doubt of it, I can make it very evident.

P. 335. l. penult. *He* [Dr. Smith] *had made a recantation—of some opinions—but what these were—the Journal does not inform us.*] The particulars were, 1. concerning submission to governors in church and state; 2. concerning unwritten traditions; 3. concerning the sacrifice of the mass, &c. as may be seen in his Retractation, printed at London, an. 1547. *cum priv.* entituled, *A Godly and Faithful Retractation, made and published at Paul's Cross in London, anno* 1547, 15 *May; by Master Richard Smith. D. D. and*

Reader of the King's Majesties Lecture in Oxford; revoking therein certain Errors and Faults, by him committed in some of his Books. It was repeated at Oxford, July 24, the same year.

P. 337. l. 12. *Bucer died—on the 28th of February.*] It is not very material whether he died this day or the day after: but he died the 1st of March, if Parker and Haddon's account may be taken, who were present, and bore a part at his funeral, and were executors of his will.

Nicholas Carr, likewise present, says, *calendis Martiis*, in his letter to Cheek. These, I suppose, are the best authorities.

P. 405. l. 11. *—said in the preface of the book, that Cranmer did the whole work almost himself.*] All that I find in that preface is, that these thirty-two were divided into four classes; and that what was concluded in one class was to be communicated to the rest; and that "summæ negotii præ- "fuit Tho. Cranmerus, archiep' Cant';" as it was fit he should preside.

P. 420. l. 25. *Wauchop, a Scotchman—who, though he was blind—*] He was not blind, only shortsighted: "Il quale "huomo di brevissima vista era commendato di questa virtu, "di correr alla posta meglio d'huomo del mondo." *Hist. del Conc. Trid.* lib. ii. p. 144.

P. 480. l. 14. *the queen—received them all very favourably, except—Dr. Ridley.—She gladly laid hold on any colour to be more severe to him,—for bringing Bonner to London again.*] There needed no colours; he had given too just offence. In a MS. C. C. C. Miscel. P. this account is given.

"Sunday, July 16th, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, "preached at Paul's Cross: where he declared in his ser- "mon—the lady Mary and Elizabeth to be illegitimate, "and not lawfully begotten, &c. according to God's law;— "and so found, both by the clergy and acts of parliament, "in Henry the VIIIth's time; which the people murmured "at."

P. 490. l. 8. *himself* [Cranmer] *performed all the offices*

of the burial, &c.] It is highly improbable, that he who was now under displeasure, about this time confined to his house, and soon after to the Tower, should be allowed to perform these offices in such manner. Godwin (an. 1553.) Annal. says, "—Concionem habente Daio Cicestr. episcopo, qui "etiam sacrum peregit vernacula usus Anglicana, et eucha- "ristiam præsentibus exhibuit, &c." To the same purpose Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 1089. And I never could meet with any good authority for the contrary, except your lordship's.

P. 496. l. 19. —*against all that would not change their religion.*] Speaking of judge Hales. Judge Hales did change his religion: so Fox, vol. iii. p. 957. "Judge Hales "never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented "to papistry." This, probably, was one great occasion of his melancholy. So Fox, more expressly in the first edition of his book, p. 1116. "He was cast forthwith into a great "repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience." —And Bradford (Letters of the Martyrs, p. 384.) proposes him as an example of one "that was fearfully left of God to "our admonition."

P. 503. l. 12. *he* [Horn] *had refused to accept of his bishopric*—] As far as I understand his meaning, this was meant of the administration of episcopal power: for Horn having said, "The bishop was not ashamed to lay to my "charge,—that I had exercised his office in his bishop- "rick;" answers, "—I never meddled with his office: I "was in daunger of much displeasure,—bycause I wold not "take upon me his office, &c."

P. 505. l. 7. from bottom. *one Beal, clerk of the council.*] His name in Fox is Hales, vol. iii. p. 976.

P. 545. l. 23. *she* [the lady Jane] *sent her Greek Testament—to her sister, with a letter in the same language.*] The letter, I suppose, must have been wrote in English, as it stands in Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. and as printed amongst the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 662.

P. 552. l. 8. from bottom. *Goodrick of Ely died in April this year.*] There is an institution upon his register,

by his authority, May 9th, 1554: and in a catalogue of their bishops, upon their Black Book, it is said, "Decimo "Maii, anno Dom. 1554,—mortem obiit apud Somersham, "&c." This, I think, has been taken notice of: I only mention it, because it is from unquestionable authority.

P. 556. l. 4. *Dr. Martin—studied the law at Bourges, where Francis Balduin—had publicly noted him for his lewdness, as being not only overrun himself with the French pox;—which Balduin certified in a letter.*] This letter I have now by me, printed in Bale's Declaration of Bonner's Articles, fol. 47, 48. But it was not Martin, but his host, that was overrun with the French pox: "Habitabat in Acad. "Biturigum, apud quendam nomine Boium, sacrificulum "turpissimum,—toto corpore leprosum, et infami morbo "Gallico infectum:" though Martin's character there is bad enough.

P. 560. l. 7. *the Spaniards gave—occasion, by publishing king Philip's pedigree,—from John of Gaunt:—This made Gardiner look—to—the liberties of the crown*, &c.] If John Bale be good authority, the English were forward enough "in setting forth genealogies from John à Gaunt; "—Gardiner, White, and Harpsfield maintaining the same." Ibid. fol. 9.

P. 570. l. 17. *the letters of the prisoners—gathered—and all printed by Fox,—and put into the library of Emanuel college, by sir Walter Mildmay*, &c.] Most of these letters are printed by Fox; but your lordship knows, the Letters of the Martyrs were published in a distinct volume, with a preface by Coverdale, (probably the publisher,) and printed by John Day, an. 1564; which I could have wished had been taken notice of by your lordship in this place.

P. 606. l. 24. Here I could have wished your lordship had taken notice of Hooper's loyalty, which was very signal; as appears from his printed Apology. "When she was at "the worst, I rode myself from place to place, (as it is "well known,) to win and stay the people for her party. "And whereas another was proclaimed; I preferred her,

" notwithstanding the proclamations.—I sent horses out of " both shires, (Glocester and Worcester,) to serve her in her " great danger; as sir John Talbot, kt. and William Ligon, " esq. can testify, &c." And more to this purpose.

P. 637. l. 20. *William Wolsey—burnt at Ely; where Shaxton,—now suffragan—of Ely, condemned them.*] Shaxton could not condemn them, being there only as an assistant: they were condemned by John Fuller, LL. D. " Vicarium in spiritualibus domini Thomæ, episcopi Elien. " —et ejusdem commissarium,—legitimè constitutum,—ad " negotia infra scripta expediend.—in capellâ B. Mariæ " Elien.—assistentibus ei tunc ibid. rev. in Christo patre " Nicholao—modo suffragano episcopo—Rob. Steward, " decano Elien. Jo. Christopherson, S. T. B. decano Norvic. " &c." *Registr. Thyrlby*, fol. 81, 82. where the process may be seen.

P. 677. l. 5. John Hullier, a priest, was burnt at Cambridge, as appears from Thirlby's Register. He is there said to have been vicar of Badburham; of which vicarage he was first deprived, and afterwards burnt, for maintaining erroneous and heretical opinions. Fox (p. 696.) likewise says he was burnt at Cambridge, as also the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 517.

P. 681. l. penult. *Knox had written indecently of the emperor*, &c.] This, my lord, is rather too soft an expression; Knox was accused of treason against the emperor, his son, and the queen of England; as may be seen in the Troubles of Frankford, where the words are reported at large, p. 44.

P. 683. l. 12. *brought him* [Pool] *under the suspicion of having procured his* [Cranmer's] *death.*] From your lordship's opinion of the cardinal's probity and virtue, p. 741, I think I can clear him from this suspicion from his own letter, MS. where he thus accosts Cranmer: " Ea " est mea salutis tuæ cura ac studium, ut si te ab hor- " ribili illâ, quæ tibi nisi resipiscas, impendet, non solum " corporis, sed animæ etiam mortis sententiâ, ullo modo

" liberare possem, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque ho-
" noribus, qui cuiquam in hac vitâ contingere possint
" (Deum testor) libentissime anteponerem." MS. p. 54.

P. 684. l. 8. from bottom. *I have not met with her foundation of it,* [Westminster] *which perhaps was razed—*] The king and queen's licence, or patent, dated Sept. 7. an. 3. and 4. P. M. may be met with in Rymer, (Apostol. Benedict. p. 233.) and as there said, " habetur 12. parte pa-
" tentum." The rest, I suppose, was done by the pope's authority. The cardinal's licence (towards the suppressing of the college) may be met with in the Monastic. vol. ii. p. 847.

P. 711. l. 4. *Peito had begun his journey to England—Stopped his journey,* &c.] From the Answer to English Justice, (supposed to be wrote by sir Will. Cecil, or by his order,) it appears that Peito was now in England, p. 20, 23, &c. edit. Eat. p. 48; as likewise from the Answer, p. 147, 149. Ciaconius says the same thing, an. Dom. 1557. and Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Prid. lib. xiv. cap. 2. 5. (and that he was then an old decrepit man,) besides other authorities that might be named, if it were material. It was the bulls that were stopped at Calais, with the nuncio, or bearer, which may have occasioned the mistake of Godwin and others.

P. 732. l. 12. *he that writ the preface to bishop Ridley's book* De Cœna Domini,—*supposed to be Grindal.*] The author of the preface to Ridley's book was William Wittingham, according to Bale, (p. 684, 731.) who knew the man very well, as well as his writings.

P. 741. l. 7. from bottom. *reserving nothing to himself but Pool's breviary and diary.*] " Ex quibus Polus
" Deum precari solitus erat, breviarium vocamus et diur-
" nale." *Becatell.* p. 80.

P. 790. l. 5. from bottom. *the last* [Coverdale] *being old, had no mind to return to his bishopric.*] I suppose Coverdale might have other reasons; for in a book entitled, *Part of a Register,* I find him ranked with those that then, or soon after, were styled *puritans,* p. 12, 23, 25, &c. and

having been of the English congregation at Geneva, might probably there receive a tincture, that he could not be brought to consent to impositions. (Troubles of Francfort, p. 188, 215.) This further appeared by his practice at archbishop Parker's consecration, where *togâ laneâ talari utebatur*; and if he would not use the episcopal habits on such an occasion, I am fully persuaded he never would. However, it was very well in your lordship to treat him with tenderness, he having been a peaceable good man, and a very useful instrument in the reformation.

P. 792. l. penult. *Bonner was suffered to go about in safety.*] Bishop Andrews, who gives a very particular account of the treatment of the several bishops, has this account of Bonner—" Bonerus autem Londinensis, qui reg-
" nante Mariâ cum lenienæ præesset, in odium veniret
" omni populo (ut nec tutum esset ei prodire in publicum,
" ne saxis obrueretur) ille quidem in carcere consenuit—." *Tort. Torti*, p. 146, 147.

P. 793. l. 19. *Watson, a morose sullen man—given to scholastical divinity*, &c.] Watson, who was fellow and master of St. John's college, was noted for polite learning; I suppose it was Dr. John Watson, that was given to scholastical divinity, styled *Scotist* by Erasmus.

COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

P. 182. numb. 20. *simpliciter et uxor viro*] similiter et uxor viro, MS. *possunt aliis nubere*] potest alii nubere, MS. *a quo jure juxta*] æquo jure quo illæ juxta, &c. MS.

P. 193. *the sacrament of thanks*] the sacrament of the altar, MS. *Dr. Tyler*] D. Tayler, MS. P. 197. *scil.* (bis)] Christi (bis) MS. And betwixt the third and fourth answer of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, MS. has these words, " The prayers of the priest in the mass, having
" before him the precious body and blood of our Saviour
" Christ, by the testimony of St. Austin, St. Chrysostome,
" and other ancient fathers, are of great efficacy, and
" much to be esteemed."

P. 199. *Mark* 19.] Mark 14, MS. P. 2[illegible]. *communicating*] communing, MS. P. 202. *frequent*] fervent, MS. Ibid. *caveant*] caveat, MS. P. 203. *come daily*] commune daily, MS. P. 207. *convenient*] expedient, MS. P. 209. after *Paul. ep. Bristol*] Dr. Cox, because all the benefits of the mass do also appertain unto the people, it were very convenient to use such speech therein, which the people might understand, MS. Ibid. quest. 10. after *Lincoln's answer;* Dr. Cox, I suppose that the reservation of the sacrament began about the time of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. When it began I cannot tell, and for what purpose it should hang there, I cannot tell, MS.

P. 210. *some questions*, &c.] Before the questions thus, *London, Worcester, Chichester, Hereford.* On the back of the paper thus, *Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford.* First answer, for *far and sundry*] far asunder, MS.

P. 223. numb. 30. *continuing*] conteyning, MS. C. C. C. Ibid. *to marry a wife*] to marry one wife, &c.

P. 349. *A manifesto—by Cranmer*, &c.] This was printed, an. 1554. by V. Pollanus, under this title, *Reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini D. archiepiscopi Cant. Epistola apologetica;* which seems a more proper expression for a subject.

P. 541. *I do not find one head of a college—was turned out*, &c.] Day, provost of King's, was not turned out, (as has been said by Mr. Warton,) for he resigned, though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his resignation is said to be voluntary. But Rowland Swinburn, master of Clare Hall, was certainly turned out by the king's visitors, as appears from a journal of the visitation, MS. C. C. C. a copy whereof I have; nor can there be any doubt but Gardiner was turned out at Trinity Hall, where his successors, Haddon and Mowse, are styled, masters *de facto.*

P. 556. *Coverdale not married*] Coverdale was married; he and Machabeus married two sisters. Fox, vol. iii. p. 182. Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 1309. speaks of Coverdale's wife twice in one page. Eight of the protestant bishops in this reign were married. Parkhurst, Epigram. Juv. p. 56, 165, 6.

1. p. . 2d . 1533. In the introduction sir Thomas More is quoted, as calling convocations confederacies. It is not he that calls them so, but the person whom he answers; for the words that go before shew this very clearly. *But, I suppose, he calleth those assemblies at the convocations by the name of confederacies. For, but if he do so. I wot nere what he meaneth by that word. And on the t'other side if he do so, for ought that I see, he giveth a good thinge, and an holsome, an odyouse heighnouse name. For if they did assemble after*, &c.

Number 5.

Some remarks sent me by an unknown person.

KEILWAY's Reports were published 1602, by Jo. Crook, who was afterwards a judge. He gives a character of Keilway, as a lawyer of good reputation; and that he was surveyor of the courts of wards in queen Elizabeth's reign. It appears that the king's ordering the attorney general to confess Dr. Horsey's plea, without bringing the matter to a trial, was plainly a contrivance to please the clergy, and to stifle that matter without bringing it to a trial, and so must have satisfied them better than if he had pardoned him. Little regard is to be given to Rastall, who shewed his partiality in matters in which the pope's authority was concerned; for in his edition of the Statutes at Large, he omitted one act of parliament made in the second year of Richard the Second, cap. 6. which is thus abridged by Poulton. Urban was duly chosen pope, and so ought to be accepted and obeyed: upon which the lord Coke in his Institutes, p. 274. infers, that anciently acts of parliament were made concerning the highest spiritual matters; but it seems Rastall had no mind to let that be known. He was a judge in queen Mary's time, but went beyond sea, and lived in Flanders in queen Elizabeth's reign, and there he wrote and printed his Book of Entries.

There is a very singular instance in the Year Book, 43

Edward III. 33. 6. by which it appears that the bishop of Litchfield was sometimes called the bishop of Chester; for a *quare impedit* was brought by the king against him, called bishop of Chester: the judgment given at the end of it is, that he should go to the *great devil.* This is a singular instance of an extraordinary judgment; there being no precedent like it in all our records.

In Brook's Abridgment, *Tit. Præmunire,* sect. 21. it is said, that Barlow had, in the reign of Edward the VIth, deprived the dean of Wells, (which was a donative,) and had thereby incurred a *præmunire;* and that he was forced to use means to obtain his pardon: so if he had not his bishopric confirmed, by a new grant of it, he must have lost it, in a judgment against him in a *præmunire.* And if he wrote any such book, it was in order to the obtaining his pardon. Brook was chief justice of the common pleas in the first of queen Mary: but yet it is no ways probable that Barlow wrote any such book as is mentioned p. 553. of the second volume of the History of the Reformation: for he went out of England, and came back in the first of queen Elizabeth. He assisted in the consecration of archbishop Parker, and was made bishop of Chichester; which probably would not have been done, if he had written any such book, unless he had made a public recantation of it; which I do not find that he did. So there is reason to believe that was a book put out in his name by some papist, on design to cast a reproach on the reformation. This is further confirmed by what I have put in the History: for by a letter of Sampson's it appears, that Barlow did feebly promise to be reconciled to the church of Rome; but it seems that was only an effect of weakness, since he quickly got beyond sea; into which the privy-council made an inquiry: that shews, that he repented of that which was extorted from him.

"There are in this paper some quotations out of Har-
"mer's Specimen, on which general remarks are made, but
"particulars are not added. The writer of this has not
"thought fit to name himself to me; so I can give no other

" description of him, but that he seems to be a person who " has studied the law, and perused our historians care- " fully."

Number 6.

Observations and corrections of the two volumes of the History of the Reformation, made by Mr. Strype.

P. 99. l. 5. from bottom. Staphileus was a bishop; Simoneta was dean of the rota.

P. 107. l. 16. S. Greg. Cassali was not then at Rome, but at Orviet, where the pope was at that time. Staphileus was not yet come: and when he came, he did not promote, but hindered the king's business all he could. See Gardiner's Letters.

P. 109. l. 18. This was the third commission sent from the pope. The first was sent from Rome by Gambera, and the second from Orvieto, brought over by Fox, but both were disliked; so this was now obtained.

P. 227. l. 19. *they cried out.*] It was only *one:* " quidam " respondebat." *Jour. Convoc.*

P. 255. l. 3. Stow is in the right: for in a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador with the emperor, dated in June, from Croydon, he wrote, " Queen " Anne was married much about St. Paul's day last; as " the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is " now somewhat big with child."

P. 262. l. 21. The number of those who voted being only twenty-three, must be understood only of the divines: for the second question was put only to the jurists, who (in those times) exceeded the divines in number, and they did all vote in the affirmative: so that the numbers did far exceed twenty-three.

P. 265. l. 7. Cranmer, in a letter, gives this account of the final sentence of divorce, in these words: " As touching " the final determination and concluding of the matter of " divorce between my lady Katherine and the king's grace: " after the convocation in that behalf had determined and " agreed, according to the former sentence of the universi-

" ties; it was thought convenient, by the king and his " learned council, that I should repair to Dunstable,—and " there to call her before me, to hear final sentence in this " said matter. Notwithstanding she would not at all obey " thereunto. On the 8th of May, according to the said ap- " pointment, I came to Dunstable; my lord of Lincoln be- " ing assistant to me: and my lord of Winchester, Dr. Bell, " Dr. Claybroke, Dr. Tregonnel, Dr. Sterkey, Dr. Olyver, " Dr. Britton, Mr. Bedel, with divers others learned in the " law, being counsellors for the king. And so there, at our " coming, kept a court, for the appearance of the said lady " Katherine: where we examined certain witnesses; who " testified that she was lawfully cited,—and called to appear, " as the process of the law thereunto belongeth: which " continued fifteen days after our first coming thither. The " morrow after Ascension-day I gave sentence therein; how " that it was indispensible for the pope to license any such " marriage." All this is taken out of Cranmer's letter to Hawkins.

P. 271. l. 20. Queen Elizabeth was born the 13th or 14th day of September: for so Cranmer wrote to Hawkins; and says, that he himself was godfather at her christening, and the old duchess of Norfolk and the marchioness of Dorset were godmothers.

P. 336. l. 26. Tracy's business was never in the bishop of London's court: it was brought into the convocation, by the prolocutor, on the 24th of February 1530; and, after eighty days, the archbishop gave sentence against the will, and condemned it. In another session the bishop of London read the sentence in the archbishop's name. It was also decreed, that Tracy died a heretic, and his body was ordered to be dug up, and cast a great way from ecclesiastical sepulture. The prolocutor had indeed moved, that his body should be burnt; but the sentence went not so far: yet the execution of it being committed to Parker, chancellor of Worcester, he went further than the sentence warranted him, and burnt the body.

P. 453. l. 4. from bottom. The seventh article is wholly

omitted, for providing a Bible in Latin and English, and laying it in the choir.

P. 491. l. 4. Not a convocation, but a commission from the king to bishops and other learned divines.

P. 495. l. 15. Somner saith, "that Becket's bones were "burnt to ashes."

COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

P. 234. l. 17. *Roanen.*] King, abbot of Osney, had the title *episcopus Roanensis:* he was afterwards bishop of Oxford.

P. 312. This letter was drawn by Gardiner; but it is not certain that it was sent.

P. 316. The agreement at the end of these questions is in Cranmer's hand. Cott. Libr. Cleopatra, E. 5.

P. 476. and 480. Two papers said to be Cranmer's; but they are not written by him, nor by his secretary: so it does not appear that they are his.

P. 488. col. 2. l. 5. It is not *Redman:* it is difficult to be read. It seems to be *Edmondes.*

P. 547. l. 29. For *the*, r. *our.*

P. 548. l. 9. For *directors probable*, r. *direct and probable.*

Corrections of the second volume.

P. 2. l. 9. Queen Jane died the 24th of October, in a journal written by Cecil; that was in twelve days after king Edward's birth: so it is in the herald's office. Line 13. The duke of Suffolk was godfather at his confirmation, not at his baptism.

P. 52. l. 3. from bottom. This rule was not observed; in some circuits there were four visitors; in others six; in some no civilians; in some two divines; in some one gentleman; and in some three. See *Cranmer's Mem.* p. 146.

P. 54. l. 23. These titles are not as they are in the original book: they are only abridged.

P. 56. marg. *articles and injunctions.*] The injunctions are only abstracted, not the articles.

P. 59. l. 7. These articles are not in bishop Sparrow's Collection, but were printed anno 1547.

P. 81. l. 16. The lord Rich made the speech mentioned, though not inserted in the Lords' Journal.

P. 88. l. ult. The archbishop of Canterbury might use his own name in all faculties and dispensations.

P. 145. l. 26. This Catechism was first made in Latin by another, but translated by Cranmer's order, and it was reviewed by him.

P. 167. l. 9. This proclamation was printed by Grafton, among king Edward's proclamations.

P. 248. l. 23. The two colleges of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall could not be brought to surrender, in order to the uniting them. Some visitors were for doing it by the king's absolute power: to this Ridley would not agree; and for this he was complained of.

P. 310. l. 13. The duke of Somerset was not then fallen; it was between his two falls. The proceedings in council are signed by him. L. 17. Fox says, it is so in king Edward's Journal.

P. 319. l. 14. The passport was signed in March 1554, to go with four servants and three horses.

P. 328. l. 29. These reasons were drawn up by Ridley.

P. 335. l. 6. This was not before Cranmer, but long after; before archbishop Parker.

P. 342. l. 12. The greater part of the bishops were enemies to the reformation.

P. 375. l. 29. He was sick before; for a commission was granted to some to do the business of the chancery.

P. 405. l. 13. Cranmer's part is thus expressed, *Summæ negotii præfuit.*

P. 468. l. 15. On the 8th of July also they sent for the mayor and certain aldermen, and told them of the king's death, and of the succession; but bade them keep it secret. L. 28. *give pardon,* r. *she wrote, she was ready to remit and pardon; and that she could take their doings in good part.*

P. 471. l. 8. For *Robert* r. *Richard.*

P. 486. l. 15. Yet in the second session of this parliament, a private act passed to make void the duke of Norfolk's attainder.

P. 496. l. 21. The reason of the wounding himself was the trouble of mind that he felt for his compliance, upon bishop Day's communication with him the day before.

P. 506. l. 22. Yet Tregonnel, a prebendary of Westminster, sat in the house in the second sessions of this parliament.

P. 520. l. 14. Cardinal Pole was stopped in his journey by Mendoza, sent post to him from the emperor, desiring him not to proceed in his journey; upon which he went back to Diling, a town belonging to the cardinal of Ausbourg.

P. 543. l. 8. Poinet wrote a book to justify resisting the queen; which I have seen.

P. 548. l. 14. Cheek was sent to the Tower with the duke of Suffolk, and had licence to travel. L. 19. They did not render themselves, but were seized in their journey; bound and thrown into a cart, and sent prisoners to England.

P. 549. l. 8. Seven persons were discovered to be complices. The words spoken from the wall were against the queen, the prince of Spain, the mass, and confession.

P. 553. l. 6. Hopton, by the regist. of Cant. was consecrated the 28th of October; Anthony Harmer, p. 134. says it was the 25th of October.

P. 561. l. 16. The bill was to *avoid*, and not to *revive*, the statute of the six articles.

P. 637. l. 25. Shaxton did not condemn them: Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, condemned them. Steyward, dean of Ely, and Christopherson, dean of Norwich, with others, were in the commission, but the chancellor was the chief.

P. 645. l. 22. Heath was appointed chancellor on new year's day.

P. 648. l. 4. from bottom. *justices of peace.*] The bill was, that no servants to gentlemen, and wearing their clothes, (except the king and queen's) should be justices. It was read the second time on the 12th of November.

P. 655. l. 20. Cardinal Pole had two brothers, Arthur and Jeffrey, both arraigned, in the year 1562, for a conspiracy against queen Elizabeth. David was not his brother, nor a bastard; for there is no bull of dispensation in his favour among those sent over at that time.

P. 709. l. 22. The queen and Philip both wrote to the pope in favour of cardinal Pole; the letter is dated May 21, shewing how serviceable he had been in restoring religion in England. The parliament seconded this by another letter.

P. 710. l. 8. *heresy;*] They were twenty-two in number; their submission is in Fox, p. 17. 92.

P. 724. l. 20. The complaint was against all the French denisons, as well as others: but the act was more favourable.

P. 731. l. 12. *martial law:*] The words of the proclamation are, *according to the order of the martial law.*

P. 732. l. 19. Lord Burleigh, in the *Execution of Justice*, says there died by imprisonment, torments, famine, and the fire, near 400: on this we may depend.

P. 743. l. 22. She understood, and wrote well, both in Spanish and French.

P. 748. l. 23. Queen Elizabeth stayed some days at Hatfield; she came to the charter house 24th November; on the 28th she went to the Tower; and came to Westminster on the 23d of December.

P. 752. l. 3. The earl of Pembroke favoured the reformation.

P. 758. l. 1. *till the parliament met.*] The council set him at liberty on the 19th of Jan. and the parliament met on the 25th.

P. 773. l. 22. The bishop of Duresme came not to the parliament, for his presence was needed in the north, for guarding the marches against the Scots, and the French, ready to invade England.

P. 774. l. 4. The bishop of Ely was absent, being in an embassy at Cambray; but was come over on the 17th of April, and joined with the other dissenting bishops.

P. 777. l. 29. Cole's speech seems to be a reply to Horn, and so should be set after it.

P. 785. l. 16. Abbot Feckenham made that speech, and not Heath.

P. 791. l. 6. from bottom. The oath was tendered to them in July. L. 14. Christopherson died before the parliament met.

P. 794. l. 17. This matter belongs to the year 1560 or 1561.

P. 801. l. 16. This was not a high commission, warranted by act of parliament; but a commission for a royal visitation, by virtue of the queen's supremacy.

P. 805. l. 6. *the 8th of July*:] Mason has it the 18th of July.

P. 807. l. 2. May, dean of St. Paul's, was elected archbishop; but died before he was consecrated.

P. 813. l. 10. A. P. C. stands for Andrew Pierson. Cantuar. L. 13. A. P. E. stands for Andrew Pern. Eliensis L. 23. C. G. (printed G. G.) stands for Christopher Goodman.

P. 814. l. 16. The new translation of the Bible was not printed before the year 1572.

COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

P. 8. l. 6. For *Thomas*, r. *William*.

P. 15. l. 29. For *Char.* r. *Chartres*.

P. 24. l. 8. For *Yates*, r. *Gates*.

P. 30. l. 18. For 1200000, r. 120000.

P. 30. l. penult. For *Richumbee*, r. *Ricebank*.

P. 34. l. 8. *Archer*, r. *Aucher*.

P. 35. l. 18. *Crosted*, r. *Croftis*. L. 3. from bottom. *Yates*, r. *Gates*.

P. 37. l. 25. Dr. John Olyver was the other lawyer.

P. 55. l. 9. 10. For *seditiously*, r. *seditious*; for *attaqued*, r. *attached*; and for *James*, r. *Thomas*. L. 11. for *attaqued*, r. *attached*. L. 19. For *R.* r. *rabble*.

P. 62. l. 28. For *on*, *confessed*, r. *on confession*.

P. 63. l. 14. The name was Knox.

P. 66. l. 22. *Roberts*, r. *Robert.*

P. 76. l. 17. from bottom. For *Leicester*, r. *Lister.*

P. 76. l. 6. from bottom. *the Pirry, the mint-master;* r. *that Pirry the mint-master.* Ibid. For *Brabamon*, r. *Brabazon.*

P. 77. l. 16. *August Pyso*, r. *August Py, so.*

P. 90. l. 4. *Archer*, r. *Aucher.*

P. 93. l. 21. *Sturley*, r. *Strelly.*

P. 150. l. 28. For *Barker*, r. *Bakere.*

P. 152. l. 18. For *water-cloath*, r. *auter-cloth.* Ibid. l. ult. For *good*, r. *God.*

P. 153. l. 15. *à quo sancta*, r. *qui sanctorum.* Ibid. l. 23. before *realm*, r. *noble.*

P. 167. l. 26. For *Jane*, r. *Jent.*

P. 170. l. 5. For *sovereign*, r. *conscience.*

P. 210. l. 18. These queries were put by Cranmer to those bishops; but this paper is all in Bonner's hand, with whom these three bishops agreed. L. 28. For *sundry*, r. *asunder.* In the margin set *London* first.

P. 212. l. 17. After these answers, follows a reply by Cranmer, in other queries; as, " If you cannot tell what " and where the acts of John can profit Thomas, being so " far distant from him, that he can never hear of him; why " do you then affirm that to be true, which you cannot tell " how, nor wherein it can be true?

" Whether our praiers for al the souls departed do profit " the apostles, prophets, and martyrs?

" Whether they know all the actions of every man here " in earth? and if not, how do they rejoice of those good " actions which they know not?

" Whether our evil deeds do them hurt, as our good " deeds profit them?

" Whether the presentation of the body and blood of " Christ do stand in all the words and actions that the " priest useth in the mass which now we do use?

" Whereby is it known that in the primitive church were " priests that preached not?

" Why may not we as well alter the mass into the Eng-
" lish tongue, or alter the ceremonies of the same, as we
" alter the communion to be under both kynds, that in other
" churches is uniformly ministred to the people under one
" kind, seeing that the uniformity of al churches requireth
" no more the uniformity in one than in the other?"

P. 261. l. 16. For *security*, r. *surety*. L. 25. Dele *such*.

P. 262. l. 9. For *daily*, r. *diligently*.

P. 292. l. 6. from bottom. After *another*, r. *holding up the forefingers*. L. 19. for *saying*, r. *sacring*.

P. 294. l. penult. follow Proverbs the 5th: *The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life, shall dwell among the wise: he that refuseth to be reformed, despiseth his own soul: but he that submitteth himself to correction, is wise.*

3. Reg. 18. *Elias, How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, go after him.*

P. 296. N. 54. This letter was not written to archbishop Cranmer, but to archbishop Parker.

P. 327. Set on the margin here, *Ex chartophylacio regio.*

P. 331. l. 10. For *met*, r. *meant*.

P. 337. This seems not to be the proclamation, declaring Jane Grey to be queen; but rather her letters patents, declarative of her right of succession.

P. 343. in the margin. For C. 20. r. C. 10. The same error is in p. 345. and 346.

P. 355. l. 4. For *ungodliness*, r. *ungodly rate*. L. 6. *slander*, r. *no little slander*. L. 17. after *diocess*, r. *and jurisdictions*. L. 27. *to them*, for *to thende*.

P. 356. l. 1. *hand*, r. *signet*. L. 11. after *person*, r. *with other persons*.

P. 357. l. 29. After *officers*, r. *as they*.

P. 359. l. 5. For *unthriftiness*, r. *unchristiness*. Ib. Dele *each*.

P. 377. The 17th article is in the MS. scratched out and crossed.

P. 396. l. 23. Add *councellour*.

P. 397. l. 4. from bottom. After *Cousin's*, add *other*.

P. 398. l. 13. For 26. r. 25. L. 23. for *their*, r. *the*. L. 26. for *and*, r. *or*.

P. 399. l. 15. After *amongst*, r. *nigh*. L. 4. from bottom. After *sessions*, r. *at the least once*.

P. 441. l. 8. Put a *comma* between Dudley and Ashton. L. 21. *pronouncing*, r. *procuring*.

P. 442. l. 7. *preservance*, r. *preservation*.

P. 460. l. 7. from bottom. For *heed* r. *head*.

P. 461. l. ult. *came* for *can* twice.

P. 463. l. 11. *for fear*, r. *too far*. L. 12. *oppress*, r. *repress*.

P. 464. l. 12. After *more*, r. *chaplains*. L. 15. after *memory*, r. *said*. L. 16. after *the*, r. *seldomer:* dele *or*. L. 25. *renew*, r. *review*. L. 26. dele *certain*. L. 27. *when*, r. *where*.

P. 472. l. 28. At the end of this paper there is added in the MS. testimonies confirming it, out of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, and Austin, and the Constitution of Justinian; and they are to be seen printed in Fox's first edition. The names at the end are not subscriptions: they are added in Parker's hand; who forgot to write Sands among them, for he was one of them.

P. 487. l. 28. For *G.* r. *E.;* for his name was Edward. No. 6. set in the margin, *Ex MSS. C. C. C. Miscellanea B.*

P. 490. Number 7. Set here in the margin, *Paper-office*.

P. 557. l. 8. Worcester was not entirely suppressed: for he was entitled Bishop of Worcester, and enjoyed a great part of the revenues of Glocester and Worcester, and kept great hospitality with them.

P. 559. l. 27. Queen Mary did set forth, in August 1553, a proclamation " for assigning the value of the coin."



A

TABLE

OF THE

RECORDS AND PAPERS

THAT ARE IN THE

COLLECTION,

With which the places in the History to which they relate are marked: the first number, with the letter C, *is the page of the* Collection; *the second, with the letter* H, *is the page of the* History.

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